

THE
F R E N C H
C O L O N I E S

P A S T A N D F U T U R E

by

J A C Q U E S S T E R N

former French Minister of Colonies



D I D I E R

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TO J A C Q U E S ' C O M R A D E S ,
THE SOLDIERS OF THE FIRST REGIMENT
OF THE CHASSEURS D'AFRIQUE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. *Emancipation and Colonization*

Mr. Wendell Willkie's thesis on imperialism—Mr. Churchill's opinion—Thomas Lamont's reply—The pledges given France by Great Britain and the United States—The freedom of the peoples—Education and hygiene in the Near East—Problems of sovereignty and independence—French and British achievements in the Levant—The methods applied by France: collaboration with the natives—Equality between white Frenchmen and colored Frenchmen—Electoral rights in the French Colonies. 3

2. *Bird's-eye View of History*

French colonizing activity from 1,000 A.D.—The spirit of the Crusades—The religious orders and the policy of Francis I—French explorers and America—A new school of thought—Cartier and Champlain—France loses her colonies—The Encyclopedists and South America—The War of Independence: Lafayette and Rochambeau—The new colonial empire—The African conquest—Indo-China and Madagascar—The achievements of the Third Republic—The peoples win freedom—Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco—The nineteenth century and the liberation of the peoples of Europe—The British Commonwealth and the French Colonial empire, embryonic Leagues of Nations—The quota barriers—The four freedoms—The lesson of history. 13

I. THE COLONIZING NATIONS

Are the French colonizers?—British methods—Spain and Portugal—Evangelization of South America—The Dutch—French explorers were pioneers—The British Era—The Navigation Acts—Two methods: "the colony must pay" and collaboration—The French spirit of adventure, from Jean Ango to René Caillé—Respect for traditions and the patriarchal regime—Great colonizers. 31

II. THE FIRST FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE

1. *Richelieu and Colbert*

The control of the seas—Rebirth of the French Navy—Richelieu's projects—The race for gold—Evangelization of Africa, North America, India—The example set by others—Creation of privileged companies—Four circles of action—Champlain's and Razilly's influence—The colonization act—The mistake of introducing monopoly—Father Joseph and his idea of a new holy war—Exploits and death of Champlain—The Antilles and Esnabuc—The *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*—Jean Baptiste Colbert and the future of the merchant marine—The fifty-sous tax; naval reforms—Seapower at the Peace of Nimwegen—Revival of the *Compagnies des Indes Orientales and Occidentales*—The extent of their monopoly—The program of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*—The failure of the Companies—Causes: exclusive rights and planned economy—Explanation of the system—The Company under Law—The struggle against colonization—Choiseul and Voltaire—An example of Colbert's activity: the Persian expedition—Failure of Admiral de la Haye—François Baron maintains French positions. 43

2. *The Conquests of the Monarchy*

Godfrey of Bouillon and the Frankish kingdoms—The Normans in England and Sicily—Jacques Coeur, Jean Ango and Paulmier de Gonneville—Jacques Cartier in Canada—His methods—Champlain—The Creation of New France—The difficulties of colonization—Richelieu and the Jesuits—Colbert sends colonists—Talon and Comte de Frontenac—The struggle against the Iroquois—The War with the Augsburg League—The Peace of Ryswick restores the status quo—Joliet and Father Marquette—The Treaty of Utrecht and the loss of Acadia—The Peace of Breda—18,000 French Canadians against 250,000 English settlers—The Marquis de Beauharnais—The Loss of Canada—Louisiana—The Exploits and discoveries of Cavelier de la Salle—His death—Le Moyne d'Iberville in Biloxi Bay—Lamotte Cadillac and the Crozat monopoly—Port-Dauphin in danger—Le Moyne de Bienville and New Orleans—The revolt of the Natchez—France's policy toward the natives—The rise and fall of Law—The misdeeds of the Company—Our settlers reach the Rocky Mountains—The Indians from the Upper Missouri in Versailles—Choiseul and the abandonment of Louisiana—The tax policy and the War of Independence—Rochambeau and de Grasse—Lord Cornwallis' surrender—Bonaparte sells Louisiana to the United States—The remains of French colonization in the United States—St. Pierre and Miquelon—The Antilles and Guiana—Portuguese discoveries—Newfoundland—Adventures in the Caribbean—Privateers—Buccaneers and Bertrand d'Ogeron—The struggle for the Antilles—Their prosperity—New discoveries—The loss of Santo Domingo—The Seven Year's War—The regime of exclusive rights—The Constituent Assembly and the emancipation of the slaves—Toussaint Louverture and Leclerc—The July Monarchy and the Haitian Republic—Brazil and South America—Coligny and Admiral de Villegagnon—Montluc and Strozzi—Dominique de Gourgues and the conquest of Florida—The influence of the philosophers—Raleigh's book on the last of the Incas—Richelieu and his protégé, Chantail—Fouquet's projects for Guiana—The Treaty of Utrecht—Cayenne—La Haye and La Condamine—Choiseul sends 8,000 settlers—Malouet imitates the Dutch—Pepper and spice cultivation—The Bourbon Restoration rebuilds the

colony—Nefarious policy of the Second Empire—The Republic and the agreement with Brazil—Crevaux and Henri Coudreau—The wealth of the subsoil—The future. 55

3. *The Conquest of the East*

Ile Dauphine and Ile Bourbon—The route to India—The first steps of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*—Madagascar—Charpentier's prospectus—Colonial artisans—Etienne de Flacourt and the Marquis de Montevertue—The Company's successors under the Regency—Benyonski's adventure—La Haye in *Grande Mascareigne*—Ile Maurice—Mishaps and successes—The Revolution—Ile de France and Réunion resist British attacks—The Treaty of Paris—India discovered by the Portuguese—Pierre de Mondragon—Henri IV in the footsteps of the Dutch—The king's death frustrates his projects—Louis XIII's emissaries and their efforts—Admiral de la Haye's adventure—France in Ceylon and Masulipatam—Failure of our squadron—François Martin succeeds Baron—Extension of Pondichéry—Seignelay and Louvois—François Martin's conquests and his death—The accession to power of Grand Mogul Aurungzeb—Governors Lenoir and Benoît-Dumas—Dupleix replaces him—Antagonism between la Bourdonnais and Dupleix—The Madras affair—The trial of La Bourdonnais—Dupleix and Bussy conquer India—Their views on Indo-China—Their control of Deccan—The intrigues of the company—Godeheu's mission—Dupleix is recalled and sentenced; his death—Bussy and Lally de Tollendal try to save our conquests—They are overwhelmed by numbers—The trial of Lally de Tollendal—Loss of India and ruin of company—Pondichéry during the Revolution—General Decaen and Napoleon's dreams—Reestablishment of our trading posts under the Bourbon Restoration. 79

4. *The Crusades and Egypt*

Urban II and Peter the Hermit—The Crusades of the Little Man—Godfrey of Bouillon, Advocate and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre—Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople—The last Crusades and Saint-Louis—Loss of Jerusalem—Guy de Lusignan, king of Cyprus—The

Latin Empire of Constantinople—The remains of these conquests—Charlemagne and Haroun-al-Raschid—The Venetians and Genoese succeed us—The capture of Constantinople by the Turks—Francis I's policy—Henry IV: the capitulations and the privilege of the flag—Leading role of our consuls—Leibnitz—Struggle against the Barbary pirates—Improvement of our relations in the eighteenth century—Origin of our influence in the East—The expedition of 1860—Our welfare establishments and schools: 100,000 pupils—The work of our congregations—Schools and dispensaries at Adana and Caesarea—The Faculty of Medicine at Beirut—In Palestine—The origin of our Syrian mandate—Expedition to Egypt—A saying of Talleyrand's—Bonaparte's triumphs—His failure at St. Jean d'Acre—His return—The death of Kléber—The loss of Egypt—The achievements of the *Institut d'Egypte*—Mehemet-Ali—French influence—Prince Said—Champollion and Mariette—The projects of Ferdinand de Lesseps—Concession of the Suez Canal—British opposition—The success of the enterprise—Ishmail's bankruptcy and the control of Suez—Gambetta's mistake—Final loss of Egypt. 96

III. THE SECOND FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE

1. *The Program of the Third Republic*

The liberators of 1848—Abandonment of the colonial system—Creation of an Empire—The slave traffic—The abolition of slavery—Plans of the Bourbon Restoration and Louis Philippe—The liberalism of the Second Empire—Jules Ferry's policies—The Congress of Berlin—The independent state of Congo—Three periods of colonial activity—British opposition—Clemenceau's attitude—The system of unification as opposed to the Colonial Pact. 109

2. *Islam*

France's Moslem policy—Peculiar features of Islamism—"The Kingdom is of this world"—Collaboration with Europeans—Respect for force—Hyacinthe Loyson and the Franco-Mussulman alliance—Kemal-Mo-

hamed-Ben-Mostel-Ben-el-Khodja—Religious brotherhoods—The Caliph's successors—France, a Moslem power.	115
---	-----

3. *France Continues in Africa*

Roman colonization of North Africa—the Berbers—Turks and Arabs—Incursions by Venetians, Genoese and Provençals in the thirteenth century—Saint-Louis at Carthage—Louis XI—The Turks remain in control until 1830—African concessions under Francis I—Colbert's policy—Duquesne bombards Algiers—Tunisia renounces privateering and becomes our ally in the eighteenth century—Consequences of our defeat in Egypt—British intervention in 1816—Strained relations with the Dey of Algiers—The claims of the Leghorn Jews—Blockade of Tunisia—Charles X's proposal for arbitration—The French fleet is bombarded—Landing—Capture of Oran and Bône—Guizot alone supports the occupation—The revolution of 1830—The *politique des petits paquets*—Capture of Constantine—The Battle of Isly—General Randon—Reforms under the Empire—Roads and irrigation—Military measures—Algeria, a colony of the settlement type—Results of French policy—Political and administration organization—Collaboration and assimilation—The Chamber of 1914 reaffirms the rights of the inhabitants. 120

4. *General Bugeaud*

His Napoleonic past—Persecuted by the Bourbons—Gentleman-farmer—His recall to public life—Saves the situation in Algeria—The conqueror of Abdu-I-Kadir—His ideas on colonization—A great soldier. 127

5. *Tunisia*

Our old ties with Tunisia—The campaign of Marquis de Martel—The agreements of 1867—Napoleon receives an embassy—Mathieu de Lesseps and the Treaty of August 6th, 1830—Ahmed Bey—International administration of revenues—Gentleman's agreement with England—Jules Ferry and Treaty of Bardo—Gambetta—Jules Ferry returns—Agreement of June 8th, 1883—The Tunisian government—The Bey and the Resident-General—Administrative and judiciary reforms—The Caid—Mixed administrations—Future prospects. . 133

6. *Morocco*

The significance of the Moroccan conquest—The Past—Influence and role of the Arabs in Barbary—Francis I and Henry IV—The Treaty of 1631—England in Tangiers—French military mission in Fez—Abdul-Aziz and Germany—Settlement of Franco-British differences in 1904—The Tangiers coup—Algeciras—Freedom of Trade—Franco-Spanish agreements—Moulai-Hafid—The crisis over Agadir—Caillaux—The Treaty of 1912—Appointment of Lyautey—Moulay-Yusuf—The revolt of El-Hiba—Occupation of Fez—The Taza affair—Our operations in the Atlas of 1917—Pacification—Abd-el-Krim—Roads and railways—Judiciary reforms—Mixed education—The Sultan, the Viziers and the Resident-General—New administration—Prosperity of the protectorate—Semi-representative regime—Native Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture—Special legislation—The port of Casablanca—"To build, to plant, to organize" (Lyautey). 137

7. *Black Africa*

The Normans and Jean de Béthencourt in the Canaries—Exploration of the Senegal coast—Gorée—Richelieu and the companies—Spanish, British and Portuguese activities—The entente with the black chiefs—Fort St. Louis—The Dutch capture Gorée—The campaign of d'Estrées—André Brue and the Niger—The Treaty of Paris in 1783—The Duke of Lauzun and the comte de Boufflers in Senegal—The Revolution—The Treaty of Amiens—The *Compagnie des Indes* in the Gold Coast and Guinea—Ducasse and d'Elbée—Beginning of the exploitation of the rubber plant—Recovery of our African possessions between 1815 and 1848. 146

8. *Senegal and Sudan*

Partition of the African Coast under the Bourbon Restoration—The loss of Santo Domingo and our policy in Senegal—Comte de Hogen-dorp's plans—Portal's confidence—Colonel Schmalz, survivor of the *Méduse* disaster—Acquisition of territories in Oualo—Experiments with cotton—Failure of the colonel—The Bambouk gold—René Caillé—His

adventures—Crossing of Fouta-Djallon—The first Frenchmen land in Timbuctoo—Major Laing—Gum trade—Admiral Bouet Vuillaumez, explorer of Guinea—Abandonment of his plan—The *Compagnie de Galam* goes bankrupt—Louis-Philippe's parliament almost gives up Senegal—Louis-Napoleon and Faidherbe—His republican past—His prophecy that came true—His love for the Negroes—Conquest and pacification go together—General summary of his achievement—Expedition to Khasso—A formidable opponent: El-Hadj-Omar—Capture of Bakel—Annexation of Cayor, Mellacorée, Casamance—Creation of a school for the chiefs' sons—Collaboration—Faïdherbe's successor: Colonel Brière d'Isle—Project for a railroad—Creation of a General Council—Settlement of frontiers—Colonel Borgnis-Desbordes builds the fort of Bamako—Ahmadou and Samori and their defeat by Galliéni and Archinard—Capture of Sikasso—Gouraud captures Samori—The French Sudan—Raids and punitive expeditions—Defense of agricultural populations against the pirates of the desert—Constitution of the government of French West Africa—General de Trentinian—Exploration of the Niger loop—Ouagadougou protectorate in 1897—Settlement of Franco-British disputes over the Lower Niger—The Berlin Convention—Coppolani's campaign against the Moors—His victory and death—Conquest of Mauritania. 151

9. *The Winning of the South*

Bouet Vuillaumez and the results of his explorations—Guinea, Slave Coast, Gold Coast, Ivory Coast—The occupation of Boké—Olivier de Sanderval and the exploration of Fouta-Djallon—Dr. Bayol's mission—Franco-British agreement of 1882—Territorial exchange with Germany—The epic of Treich-Laplène—Settlement of frontiers—Governor Angoulevant—The conquest of Dahomey by Colonel Dodds—Béhenzin and his Amazons—Final organization of French West Africa. . . 164

10. *French Equatorial Africa*

Origins—The Fathers of the Holy Ghost and Jean Ango—Portuguese and Normans—Livingston and Stanley—Savorgnan de Brazza—Success of his mission—International Conference at Brussels—Exploration of

Ogoué—The barefoot explorers—Savorgnan de Brazza negotiates with King Makoko—Foundation of Brazzaville—Gabun is extended up to Louango—Conquest of 500,000 sq. kilometres—Recognition of the conquest by the International African Association—The Act of Berlin—Juncture of Congo, Sudan and North Africa accomplished by Brazza in 1885—The Maistre Mission—We lose the Belgian Congo—Franco-British and Franco-German agreements—The struggle against Rabah—The Gentil expedition—Death of Rabah—Death of Commandant Lamy—Marchand and Kitchener at Fashoda—Cession of the Bec du Canard to Germany—Organization of French Equatorial Africa—3,000,000 inhabitants—Struggle against epidemics—Priestley's slanders—Exploitation of the tropical forest—Pacific conquest of an immense territory—The coast of French Equatorial Africa. . . . 171

11. Somaliland

Ethiopian ambassadors in Versailles under Louis XIII and Louis XIV—Subsequent interruption of our relations—Louis-Philippe buys a port—Henri Lambert and the cession of Obok—Governor Lagarde and his relations with Menelik—Djibouti—the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railroad—M. Chefneuf—French government subsidies—The completion of the line—Djibouti as a military base and bridgehead on the Indian Ocean—Its economic importance. . . . 177

12. The Indian Ocean

Ile Dauphine—Madagascar—We retreat in 1815—Governor Farquhar and his claims—Sylvain Roux' mission in Madagascar—His policy toward the natives—Polignac sends reinforcements—Queen Ranavalona drives out the missions—France seizes the Comoro Islands—Prince Rakoto—Massacre of Christians—A Gascon adventurer—Jules Ferry—Occupation of San Diego—The expedition of 1895 and capture of Tananarive—Laroche and Paul Bourde—Annexation—Arrival of Gallieni—Deposition of the Queen—Administrative reforms—The religious missions—The Hovas domination broken—Taxes, roads, railroads—Schools—Franco-Madagascan governing body—Economic and financial committees—The Kerguelen Islands—The Comoro Islands. . . 179

13. *Yellow Horizons*

The past of Indo-China—Numerous races—The dominant race: the Annamese—The aboriginal race is not Chinese—The Empire of Champa—Its destruction by the Annamese—The Hindu Empire of Foo-Nan—Cambodian independence in the sixth century—The Khmer kings—Struggle against Siam and Annam—History of Annam—Conquest of China—Liberation in 1000 A.D.—Conquest of Cochin-China by the Annamese—Annamese culture—Confucianism and Taoism—The Li Code—The adventurers of the Portuguese and Spaniards—Philippe III renounce the conquest of Cambodia—Father Alexander of Rhodes—Dutch and British attempts—Gérard de Wusthof—The road is open. 185

14. *Indo-China*

Discovered by the Portuguese, Spanish and English—The Dutch renounce their possessions in the beginning of the eighteenth century—The Mekong delta unexplored—Annam and Tongking under Chinese influence—China and Siam, hereditary enemies of the Thai and Annamese peoples—Alexander of Rhodes wants to evangelize Annam—The *Compagnie des Indes* and the king of Siam—A trading post at Hung Yen on the Red River—Incursions of Dupleix' agents—Pierre Poivre's mission at Hué—Pierre Pigneau de Béhaine gives asylum to Nguyen-Anh—The reign of Gia-Long—The policy of Duke de Richelieu—Lagréné's mission coming from China goes southwards—The Massacre of the Christians in 1852—Cambodia and Siam ask for help—Montigny signs a treaty with Siam—His failure in Cambodia—The naval expedition of Rigault de Genouilly—Capture of Tourane—Admiral Charner at Saigon, 1860—Le Myre de Villers tries to practise assimilation—Creation of the Colonial Council—Cochin-China elects a deputy—Francis Garnier's book on French Cochin-China—Doudart de Lagrée's mission—Garnier prospects Mekong—His views on Tongking—Jean Dupuis' adventure—Francis Garnier's expedition—Capture of Hanoi—Assassination of Garnier—Broglie's Cabinet retreats—Our protégés are massacred—Gambetta picks up the gauntlet—Ferry supports the expedition of Commandant Rivière—Clemenceau's opposition—Annam

yields for the first time—The Black Flags—Military expedition—The retreat of Lang-Son—The fall of Ferry—China signs peace—Paul Bert carries out the pacification. 191

15. The Indo-Chinese Union

The struggle for Upper Tongking—The creation of the Ministry of Colonies—Governor de Lanessan and Colonel Galliéni's expedition—The pursuit of the De Tham—China defeated—Kwangchowwan allotted to France—Siam and Vice-Consul Pavie—Pacific conquest of Laos—Siam renounces her privileges—Paul Bert's reforms—Councils of notables and the Tongking Academy—Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam and Tongking become French Indo-China—Budgetary problems—Disappearance of feudalism—Paul Doumer's proconsulate—Merger of the peoples—The Superior Council of Indo-China—Mixed Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture—Central reforms—The role of the mandarins—School of Medicine and French School of the Far East—Albert Sarraut creates the government council—Social legislation—Financial and fiscal reforms—Balanced budget—The colony's credit—Intellectual and scientific equipment—Improvement of the natives' status—Mixed education on two degrees—Economic results. 201

16. China

Shanghai and the French concession—Mixed municipality under the chairmanship of the consul—92 kilometres of streets and roads—Autonomous university under the direction of the Jesuits—Commercial and judiciary institute—The Kwangchowwan territory—Ports: Fort Bayard and Che-Kan—Roads—Albert Sarraut College—Franco-Annamese, Franco-Chinese schools—Judiciary organization. 208

17. Oceania

Captain Cook's discoveries—Bougainville's first voyage—The Malouines—Second voyage to Samoa, the New Hebrides and New Guinea—Kerguelen's expedition and the cruise of Surville and Marion Dufresne—Scientific organization of La Pérouse's voyage—From Kamchatka to Samoa—La Pérouse lost in the Pacific—D'Entrecasteaux looks for him

—Death of d'Entrecasteaux—La Pérouse's remains discovered by Dumont d'Urville at Santa Cruz—Louis-Philippe and the policy of the religious missions—France takes possession of Tahiti—Mishaps and restoration of Queen Pomaré—The expedition of Admiral Dupetit-Thouars—Opposition of the British Cabinet—Protectorate over the Marqueses, Leeward Islands, Gambier, Tuomotou, Austral Islands. 209

18. New Caledonia and the Hebrides

Another of Captain Cook's discoveries—A rich island inhabited by the Kamakas—Failure of the July Monarchy—Napoleon III seizes it—Unfortunate attempt to use it for deported convicts—Shortage of manpower, but superabundance of mineral and agricultural riches. 213

IV. THE MANDATED TERRITORIES

Definitions—The former Turkish provinces—The former German colonies—Mandates of A, B and C types—The problem of sovereignty—The protected peoples—Humanitarian and administrative achievements. 219

1. Syria and the Lebanon

Why France was entrusted with the mandate over these countries—1,200 schools after 1828—The decisions of 1910—The territory covered by the mandate—Cilicia—Spheres of influence—Emir Faisal—Evacuation of Cilicia—Administrative reorganization—Constitution of parliamentary assemblies—Reforms of the judiciary—The Turkish debt and the financial reorganization—Currency—100,000 pupils in French schools—Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese treaties of 1936—Aleppo—Alexandretta—Parliamentary difficulties—The Djebel Druses and Latakia. 221

2. Togoland

Origins—The slaves—The Revolution abandons France's conquests—The Second Empire: capture of Porto Seguro and Anecho—The Ger-

mans and the explorations of Nachtigal—The congress of Berlin—The war of 1914—German methods—The League Mandate—Administrative reforms—Public works—Education—Struggle against sleeping sickness—Land statute—Creation of twenty modern villages—Railroads. 226

3. *Cameroon*

Geography—The Portuguese and Rio dos Comoroës—Victoria founded by the British—German explorers and protectorate—Capture of Yaoundé during the war of 1914-1918—Flight of German troops—League Mandate—Public education—Sanitary improvements and Dr. Jamot—Increase of railroads—Roads—The port of Douala—Land ownership. 230

V. F R A N C E A B R O A D

1. *The Huguenots at the Cape of Good Hope*

The part played by the French Huguenots in the Dutch colony—The East India Company of Amsterdam summons them—Mass exodus in 1688 and 1689—The eight ships of emigrants—Pierre d'Embrun—They give their estates the names of French provinces—Jean Gardiol's oak—Foundation of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein—First French church, 1718—Conflict between Pierre Simon d'Embrun and Jacques de Savoie—The struggle against the governor—Victory of the Huguenots—French language is preserved—Emigration to the valley of the Breede in the eighteenth century—England seizes the Cape but returns it in 1803 to the Republic of Batavia—The Boers rebel and ask the Huguenots to help them—Descendants of Frenchmen among the Boers. 235

2. *The Panama Canal*

Champlain's ideas about the canal—Frenchmen at Darien—The concession of 1838—The Railroad—American project for a canal in Nicaragua—Ferdinand de Lesseps obtains the approval of the French project by an international congress—Inadequate estimates—Technical difficulties—Financial difficulties—Gaudin de Lepinay's prophecy—The

level canal proves to be a mistake—Bunau Varilla directs the works—Financial catastrophe—The Panama scandal—Panama proclaims her independence—Bunau Varilla induces the United States to adopt the French project of a canal with locks—The canal is built by the United States. 239

3. *France and Persia*

The voyage of Sieur des Hayes de Cormenin—Father Joseph's part in the voyage—Stop at Constantinople—Cormenin's great projects: trade and religion—Father Pacifique's mission—His account of his voyage to Persia—De la Boulaye's mission—Commercial agreement exempting French merchandise from all duties—The king of Persia and Louis XIV—The mishaps of Jean Baptiste Fabre and Michel's success—New Treaty—Mehemed Riza Bey's embassy—Afghan threat—Jacques Rousseau, the Shah's favorite—Scientific missions—Reception of the representatives of the Committee for Public Safety—Napoleon and the Shah—Failure of Colonel Gardane—Eclipse of our diplomatic relations—Our intellectual and scientific activities in Persia. 243

Conclusions 253

Statistical Survey 267

Appendices, Bibliography, List of Maps and Index. . 301

INTRODUCTION

1

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EMANCIPATION AND COLONIZATION

THIS book had already been written when Wendell Willkie's "One World" came off the press. Like Jules Verne's immortal hero, Philéas Fogg, Willkie circled the planet; and because he had a mighty American bomber at his disposal he completed the trip not in eighty, but in forty-five days. The observations and conclusions he arrived at are delivered to the people of the United States in a book which is really a bomb-shell.

When a former candidate for the Presidency of the United States, who missed being elected by only two million out of fifty million votes, sets out to decide the fate of the universe in so short a time, the fact deserves attention. In this book, however, we shall take issue only with Willkie's colonial thesis. We cannot ignore an opponent who passionately, but in all good faith, desires to impose his views on a great part of public opinion and who, thanks to his prestige, may succeed in doing so.

Willkie has made his own a formula wrongly attributed to Robespierre: "May the colonies perish rather than our principles." He demands that the United Nations condemn the colonial spirit and what he wrongly calls the "imperialism" of Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Portugal, with-

out reservation, *here and now*, without even waiting for the victorious end of the war. He attacks Mr. Winston Churchill for his declaration in the Commons: "We mean to hold our own. I did not become His Majesty's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

Mr. Willkie says that his English correspondents, and they are supposed to be "numberless," do not doubt that this "out-moded imperialism" is doomed. As he discreetly withholds their names the question remains open as to whether they are qualified to hold the Empire of so little account.

Another declaration of the British Prime Minister that distressed Mr. Willkie was that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter do "not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire." Some time later, on March 5, 1943, Colonel Oliver Stanley, British Colonial Secretary, said in a speech at Oxford that "he was much more interested in what Britain thought of the Empire than in what the United States thought of it," and he unreservedly rejected "any scheme for the international administration of the British colonies after the war." According to Mr. Stanley, "the first and fundamental principle is that the administration of the British colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain." He hastened, however, to admit that "continued British administration did not exclude the possibility of close international cooperation," and that "in their sense of humanity, their desire for progress and their attachment to liberty," the English yielded to no other people. He concluded that "sixty million people, prosperous, friendly and grateful," remained bound to the British Commonwealth, "by the unbreakable ties of common interest and common respect."

It is clear that in London's view the Empire remains intact whether the Crown colonies or the great autonomous nations

of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and, in the near future, India, are in question, and that even now Mr. Willkie's ideal runs counter to the unshakable will of the British people.

This specifically British problem gave rise to impassioned polemics in the American press to which Mr. Thomas Lamont authoritatively replied in the *New York Times*. It may be recalled that in 1919 Mr Lamont was one of President Wilson's most influential advisers and the official representative of the United States Treasury at the Versailles Conference. He gave a definition of the British Empire which was completely different from the concept fashionable in some circles, that of "a predatory government bearing down upon helpless peoples." He adopted this definition from Mr. Hugh Gibson, the American Ambassador: "The Empire is a school of government, which inevitably leads to self-government." The British Commonwealth has no other aim.

Mr. Lamont—and this was long before the publication of Mr. Willkie's book—felt that most of his fellow citizens were interested in liquidating only the British Empire and were not concerned with the French, Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese Empires. Today Mr. Lamont must be undeceived on this score. Mr. Willkie does not pull his punches. At Chungking he said:

"We believe this war must mean an end to the empire of nations over other nations. No foot of Chinese soil, for example, should be or can be ruled from now on except by the people who live on it. And we must say so *now*, not after the war."

Mr. Willkie was thinking particularly of Hong Kong, Shanghai and the other European or American establishments in China. If this principle were applied consistently, the United Nations would have to return Gibraltar to Spain, Malta to Italy, Suez to Egypt, etc., etc. Mr. Lamont takes sharp issue

with this thesis. Where would we be today, he asks, if these essential bases belonged to the native populations, as well as the Bermudas and Trinidad, which England has ceded to the United States for the duration? The answer is simple: we would be at Hitler's mercy, for he would have transformed them into submarine nests. We may add that if an American naval squadron had been stationed at Saigon when General Catroux, at that time Governor of Indo-China, appealed for American help, neither the Philippines nor the Dutch Indies, not to speak of Singapore, would have fallen into Japanese hands, because without Saigon they would have been unable to launch their war in the Pacific.

Mr. Willkie is silent on one point, however. Does he intend, after the war is over, or perhaps even now, by virtue of the same principle, one and indivisible, to surrender the Panama Canal, Hawaii and all the islands of the Pacific and Oceania to the natives who inhabit them, trusting them to defend themselves by their own means, as sovereign rulers of their own territories? Their right to these territories is indisputable: they have governed themselves in the past for centuries.

Mr. Churchill, on the other hand, has never made unilateral declarations. Like President Roosevelt at the time of the occupation of North Africa, he solemnly promised in an address to the French people unconditionally to return the French possessions temporarily occupied by British troops, when Hitler and his accomplices are defeated; the President of the United States has made formal promises to the same effect and has given similar assurances to the governments of Spain, Belgium and Portugal. According to Mr. Willkie these speeches aroused the indignation of certain Chinese, because they applied to the Indo-Chinese Federation. Has Mr. Willkie forgotten that within Indo-China there exist the Empire of Annam and the Kingdom of Cambodia, faithful allies of France ever since the day she liberated their territory and peoples

from the age-old and cruel domination of Siam and China? Does he not know that during the nineteenth century the Celestial Empire ruled Indo-China only through despotic intendants installed at the court of Hué, the capital of Annam, and through the Black Flags, Chinese pirates who were masters of Tongking?

In fact, before attacking Mr. Willkie's only argument, what he calls the freedom of peoples, we must investigate his sources of information. Had these been more accurate, his opinions might have been different.

One point, among others, should enlighten us on his methods of getting the facts. During his trip across the Near East—Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt (he did not visit North Africa, which had not yet been occupied)—he recognized the great educational contributions made during the last two or three decades by American missionaries. But he believes that their schools are the only ones now disseminating knowledge among the native populations. An Egyptian spokesman told him ingenuously that no really native Egyptian schools have been created in modern times, which incidentally is inaccurate. Mr. Willkie is unaware of the enormous educational efforts made by other nations in Palestine, Syria and Egypt. He has never heard of the French schools and universities which for a century have been giving excellent education to natives of all the Near Eastern countries and which, even today, count more than 100,000 students from Turkey, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. And has he ever heard of the famous French Egyptologists, Mariette, Champollion and Maspero to whom mankind owes its understanding of the ancient hieroglyphics, and the history of the Near East? Does he know of the Egyptian Institute created by Bonaparte?

With regard to education, Mr. Willkie declares emphatically that only "a few natives and a few foreigners, especially

Americans, have already shown what can be done." And he observes sadly that in Egypt no one suggested showing him "a native school as a matter of national pride."

Mr. Willkie is disturbed by this problem, so he proposes that we entrust its solution to natives who have neglected it for centuries. He is no less concerned over the measures taken to combat certain African and Asiatic diseases, and generously suggests that we cure trachoma by improving housing conditions and introducing screening and refrigeration. The Pasteur Institute which since its foundation has created numerous laboratories under the aegis of France all over the African continent, from Tunis, Algiers and Casablanca to the banks of the Congo, has attacked these problems, of which trachoma is only one, with more sensible methods.

But let us return to his thesis: that the War, and, consequently, the Peace will not be won unless the United Nations at once condemn the colonial idea, unless peoples now ruled under protectorates, mandates and colonial regimes are without delay given complete independence and governments of their own choosing. He believes that this desire for immediate and total independence, completely free of what one of his interlocutors in Lebanon has referred to as the French or British plague, is general and absolute in all the colonies.

Unfortunately Mr. Willkie has taken such remarks literally. If he were better informed, if he had consulted one of the distinguished diplomats who represent the United States in the Near East, he would have learned—and he still can—that on September 9, 1936, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, the representatives of France and Syria ratified a treaty of alliance and friendship on the basis of the complete sovereignty and independence of Syria, and that on November 13th of the same year a similar treaty, to be ratified within three years, was initialed in Beirut by the representatives of the Republics of Lebanon and France. As a result of this,

serious troubles broke out in Beirut: in the Near East, sovereignty and independence involved difficulties and conflicts which for centuries helped to keep this unfortunate region under Turkish domination, with all its horrors.

Independence is difficult to achieve. As early as 1925 a freely elected Syrian Constituent Assembly ended in failure because one of its articles gave it the power to suppress the minority states without consulting them. Syria wanted to impose her will on Lebanon and subject the Alouites and Druses to unity by compulsion.

Mr. Wendell Willkie knows nothing of the racial, cultural, religious and historical differences which colonial powers must smooth out in order to set the feet of the native peoples on the road to independence. He frees these peoples between a banquet and a speech, then takes off again in his plane. But from his altitude of ten thousand feet he cannot see the social precipices which abound in the ancient East.

The inhabitants of Syria and the Lebanon could have told him about our schools and universities, about the admirable achievements of Luynes, Vogüé, Waddington, Louis de Clerk (particularly in Syria), of Chamonnard under General Gouraud's consulate, to mention only the most recent—the former dating from the middle of the nineteenth century and the latter from the period between the Treaty of Versailles and our own day. If, curious of the past, he had stopped in Damascus, he might have visited the Azem Palace which shelters the archaeological and artistic treasures gathered together by French scientists, and he would have seen there imperishable monuments to the work of our *Ecole d'Athènes*. But Mr. Willkie traveled fast: he wanted to beat the record of Philéas Fogg.

The Arabs and Jews of Palestine seem to have given him more accurate information. They agreed that they did not want the West to get out "bag and baggage" leaving them to

settle their own problems in a sea of blood—and he was told the same thing in Egypt. Down the centuries, the peoples of Syria, Lebanon and Egypt have repeatedly called upon the French and the British to help them, to free them from the Turkish yoke, from an inferno in which the only civilizing influence, from the time of the Crusades, was the French religious orders and their educational institutions.

What the French and British administration brought was order, freedom, honest finance, railroads, public works and hygiene, not through brutal assimilationist methods, but with full consideration for native beliefs and traditions. They brought mutual understanding, also, and widespread employment. What these thousand-year-old nations need is to have their racial pride softened, their fanaticism and exacerbated nationalism silenced. Hastily granted independence would intensify their stubborn nationalism and bring pogroms and civil wars to their peoples. A real war of races would break out. Mr. Willkie does not seem to realize these dangerous implications of his doctrine.

The public should know the truth, and the truth is that colonial problems are different in each specific case. The mandate which the League of Nations gave us in Syria, in the form of an autonomous parliamentary government advised and supported by the mandated power, and in process of development towards a fully independent government, cannot be compared to the Tunisian and Moroccan protectorates, in which national representation is still embryonic in the form of a government council comprising officials from the home country, colonists and natives.

The comparison is even more difficult when we come to the Algerian departments, which like the departments in metropolitan France elect deputies, senators and councillors-general. Similarly, the problems of French West Africa, whose people are black, but whose center, Senegal, is also repre-

sented in the French Parliament, must not be confused with those of French Equatorial Africa and Madagascar, whose populations are just beginning to be civilized.

No parallel can be drawn between the status of a Senegal Negro, who is a deputy and French High Commissioner in Clemenceau's Cabinet, and a Negro from Louisiana who is still forbidden to travel in Pullman cars and stop at hotels patronized by whites, whose colored representatives—in fact there is only one in the American Congress—are not admitted to membership in important Congressional committees and who would not dare to run for Senator in the United States.

France abolished slavery for the first time in 1793, then again after the fall of the restored monarchy in 1848. The first Assemblies of the French Revolution had black deputies in their ranks. It was fully seventy years later that the United States had to undergo the horrors of the Civil War in order to impose the final abolition of slavery on a part of the nation. And the United States still has a long way to go to abolish racial discrimination, not only against the Negroes, but also against other minority groups.

What is the situation of the colored races in the older French colonies? In Algeria, as we have said, three French departments send deputies and senators to Paris; many of them have often occupied the posts of Minister or Premier. One, M. Gaston Thomson, directed the French Navy for ten years. The situation is similar in Martinique and Guadeloupe. A mulatto senator was French Minister of Justice. Negro deputies and senators have sat in government councils. The Island of Réunion has deputies and one senator; Cochin-China, one of the four divisions of Indo-China, has one deputy; Senegal and the French Indies are also represented in the French Parliament.

Do most people realize that in Senegal, just as in the Antilles, all the Negroes vote? In Algeria, an Arab who renounces

certain of his special privileges can become a French citizen; a few years later he can be elected to office just like a citizen of Paris or Marseilles. Such are the facts. And there is another fact which is even more striking. Natives from all our colonies enlisted in the French armies of 1914 and 1939 by hundreds of thousands, and hundreds of them—we are referring particularly to Negroes—attained the highest ranks. No discrimination exists between the white Frenchman and the colored Frenchman. Perhaps the unknown soldier who rests under the *Arc de Triomphe* is a colored Frenchman.

Despite our defeat, these colored Frenchmen, loyal to France, have not disavowed their mother. There has not been the slightest stirring of revolt in any of our colonies. Today hundreds of thousands of their people are enlisting under the tricolor; they dream of driving out the Germans, side by side with the heroic soldiers of America and England.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY

FRANCE has been colonizing, in the noblest sense of the term, for the last thousand years. In the words of one of our historians, she has always sought "to spread outward—from her natural desire to know people and the world, to expand, found and create." For more than a thousand years she has radiated in the direction of Asia; the ancient Gauls over-ran Greece, the Normans conquered Sicily, the French Crusaders conquered the Holy Land.

Bismarck reproached the French with their ignorance of geography. But Canada, Louisiana, the Indies, Suez, Panama, the Sahara, Indo-China—these are geography.

France's geographic situation has been both an asset and a drawback. Washed by three seas, she sent her explorers to the four corners of the globe. Her open frontiers subjected her to frequent foreign invasions.

The Gauls were the first to follow the Danube and thus to reach the Black Sea. "Ramses-Meiamon numbered them among his mercenaries. Had they not imposed the 'Black Stone' in Asia? They burned Rome and even plundered the Temple of Delphi." Their spirit of adventure knew no boundaries. St. Martin, one of the earliest French Christian saints, had a nephew, St. Patrice, who brought the word of Jesus to

Ireland. The monks of St. Boniface carried it to Odin's Valhalla. The Franks, a Germanic race, invaded Gaul and, as a result the Frankish Carolingian dynasty brought Christianity to Belgium, the Rhineland, Norway, Bavaria and Switzerland. There they found the sources of the Danube and they, too, followed its course to its mouth in the Near East. Under Charlemagne they penetrated Germany. Franz Höfer, a German historian, says that "the laws of the Alamanni were drafted by a French legislative assembly."

Theodebert and Clotaire II sent the monks of Luxeuil into Germany.

The king of Paris was threatened on the north by the Vikings, on the south by the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula and the Moors. Other invaders—Goths, Burgundians and Franks—gained footholds.

William the Bastard undertook a counter-offensive.

The Bayeux tapestry, dating from the eleventh century, has given us a picture of these bold navigators who solidly established the Anglo-Norman colony in England. According to Jusserand, "this was the infusion of Latin and French ideas into the Anglo-Saxon people and the linking of England to our civilization."

From the time the French Normans invaded England in 1066 until about 1400, the French language, customs and laws dominated England.

A French Archbishop of Rennes established his seat in Hamburg whence he exercised jurisdiction over all the Scandinavian peoples. Henry I married the daughter of Prince Yaroslav, the Ruler of all the Russias. The cathedral of Upsala constructed by Boneuil in 1287 is a simplified reproduction of Notre Dame de Paris.

French power also expanded in the Mediterranean. Foulques Nerra, Count of Blois, lay down on the tomb of Christ. His grandson, Foulques V, married Melisande, daughter of

Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem; he became King of the Holy Land and bequeathed the county of Angers to one of his sons, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and the crown of Jerusalem to his other son, Baldwin III.

The Normans came to the aid of Greece when she was attacked by the Saracens and crushed the foe at Miletus. They settled in Sicily, then in Tunisia where they preceded Saint Louis, at Malta "where they paved the way for Bonaparte," at Byzantium before Baldwin of Flanders, at Thebes and at Corinth. They planted landmarks in Sicily and at Naples for the Valois, Bourbon and Murat dynasties. If Mr. Willkie ever visits Palermo he will see the mortal remains of French kings under the mosaics of the cathedrals.

It was two French popes who preached the first crusades, of which Peter the Hermit was the earliest standard-bearer. Even today one can find the ruins of Frankish chateaux forts on the slopes of the Orontes and vestiges of a Gothic chapel in the Peloponnesus. At that period it was a French king who reigned in Jerusalem; a Lusignan was lord of Cyprus, Boniface de Montferrand wore the crown of Salonika, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, nephew of the chronicler, was Prince of Achaea; French dukes reigned in Athens and Naxos, and French counts at Thebes. Our Benedictines were installed at Josaphat, other French monks guarded the Holy Sepulchre.

The Crusades, "that Christian civilization on the march," set out from France. "*Toujours doit travailler et poursuivre, faits de Chevalerie, guerre loyale, être grand voyageur,*" wrote the poet Eustache Deschamps in his immortal ballad.

The monastic orders, the soldier-knights, the orders of the Hospitalers and Templars set up a patriarchate in Constantinople and archiepiscopal sees at Athens, Corinth and Nicosia. The Holy Sepulchre was restored by Godfrey of Bouillon, first king of Jerusalem.

Then came the era of conquests. Cadiz was taken in 1188

by a Norman fleet. Hervé de Francopoule, Robert Crespin and Bailleul reached the shores of Byzantium in the eleventh century.

During the entire Middle Ages it was France, "the eldest daughter of the Church," which maintained Christian unity against Islam. French civilization spread throughout the Near East, to Armenia, Persia and Ethiopia, where our religious orders established themselves, evangelizing and teaching the French language for centuries. They are still there.

The French feudal nobles foresaw the dangers of invasion from the south and installed themselves in Portugal, Castille, Aragon, Catalonia and Provence. Following the roads built by the Roman legions they drove their chariots across Italy toward the Black Sea up to the coast of Asia Minor. They planted their standards in Rhodes, Cyprus, Antioch, Damascus, as far as Mount Sinai. More than five centuries before Napoleon, Saint Louis led his Crusaders to Egypt and Tunisia, where his shade welcomed Jules Ferry in the nineteenth century.

In the fourteenth century the Hundred Years' War interrupted this expansion of French civilization, just as later the Wars of Religion interrupted French penetration of America. But French ties did not break. Even after the French Knights had to withdraw from the Near East, French influence remained important and France later continued the work of her knights through her heavy trade with Asia Minor. The history of trade in the Middle Ages is little known. What has become of the counting-houses of Lattes, that famous "emporium"? Nor do we know much about the Jews who trafficked with the East from warehouses all through the Mediterranean. But it is known that Jacques Coeur accumulated hundreds of millions in this trade.

Southern France shared the China trade also with Venice, Genoa and Barcelona. Marseilles and Montpellier were the

principal centers of this lucrative commerce. In 1170 Benjamin of Tudele wrote of Montpellier: "It is a town very much given to trading, where crowds of Christian and Saracen merchants as well as those from Arabia, Lombardy and Egypt, come to traffic." The merchants of Provence had their own church and market-place at Saint-Jean-d'Acre in Syria. In the thirteenth century Tripoli assigned a special quarter and consular building to the businessmen of Montpellier. The Marseilles merchants had their own courts at Alexandria and Beirut. Narbonne was the center of the Egyptian trade. Louis XI was interested in these problems. The example of Jacques Coeur, the founder of French commercial supremacy in the Lebanon, gave him food for thought. This king who restored Marseilles, after having annexed it to the French crown, worked out a project for the construction of the Hâvre de Grâce.

After Francis I a reversal of our alliances took place. This king abandoned the policy pursued by his predecessors and leaned on the Grand Turk. In the east, there was the moral empire bequeathed to us by the Templars. Their founder, Hugh de Payns, surrounded by seven companions, "Christ's militia," had submitted to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the rule of Saint Augustine's Canons, who were the predecessors of Loyola's Companions.

Templars, Hospitalers, Knights of Christ, were both monks and soldiers. Their mailed coats bore the Sign of the Cross. They came to evangelize the Infidel and to fight, with sword in hand, against those who resisted the Faith. They took the whole Mediterranean Basin under their protection.

The monks of Cluny and Citeaux spread all over Europe proselytizing in Germany, England and Italy. Hildebrand, a Cluny monk, became pope under the name of Gregory VII; in 1142, Alphonse I, King of Portugal, did not hesitate to declare himself a vassal of Clairvaux. It was to the Franciscans

that the Holy Father confided the guardianship of Jerusalem.

Marco Polo revealed China to Europe, which learned with stupefaction that the Tartars had offered one hundred thousand horsemen to Philip the Fair, who refused them. This was the same Philip who later broke with the Holy See.

Now, by Francis' action, all of Christian civilization was suddenly compromised. After Charles VIII's campaign in Italy, the last gesture in a collaboration four centuries old, Francis I "crossed the Rubicon," and in order to resist Charles V, allied himself with Soliman, thus inaugurating a new eastern policy, based on alliance with the Moslems.

Came the age of discovery. Bold explorers rounded the Horn and discovered the Americas. Inspired by a grandfather of the great Richelieu, the King opened le Havre, the first French port looking toward the Atlantic. Long before, the brave fishermen of Dieppe had established a string of settlements on the Gold Coast and the Ivory Coast. Some historians believe that they reached the American mainland before Columbus discovered the West Indies. At the end of the fifteenth century they gave names to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland so that, as the old chronicler quaintly puts it, "our Newfoundland being of the American continent, it is to the French that the honor belongs of the first discovery of America, not to the Spaniards."

After the exploits of our great Renaissance explorers, like Vincent Pinçon, the companion of Columbus, Paulmier de Gonneville, the discoverer of Brazil, Jean Denis of Honfleur who reached Newfoundland in 1506 and Jean Ango who touched Sumatra, Francis I asked the Habsburg Charles V: "Is it a declaration of war and a betrayal of my friendship for Your Majesty to send my ships across the sea? The sun shines for me as for all other men. I would like to see the clause in Adam's last will which excludes me from the division of the Globe."

These forays into America were interrupted by the Wars of Religion. But is this not the moment to cast a glance backwards and to state that for three centuries the history of our country was one, so to speak, with that of mankind? During the Middle Ages with all its horrors, when the Germanic twilight settled over the Asiatic invasions and spread the destruction of Greco-Roman civilization, one single light subsisted, France and her Crusades. Religious morality was one with civilization, its last vestige; it identified itself with the first pulse-beats of European civilization. This achievement is ours, for our conquests, directed toward the Holy Land, had as their sole objective the raising of the conquered peoples to this light.

No sooner had the Wars of Religion given place to French unity, realized at last by Henry IV, than Richelieu, freed from the siege of La Rochelle, and Colbert, freed from the last rumblings of the Fronde, began to prepare their life-work: the conquest of a continent. They did it so well that an English writer, Robert Seeley, could declare that "a political prophet living at the end of the seventeenth century would wisely have attributed the possession of North America buttressed by the bastions of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence to France and not to England."

The French exploration of America in the 17th century was a campaign studded with deeds of courage, energy and faith, led by men like Champlain, Father Joseph and Isaac de Razilly. At the beginning it was a rash campaign, for the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and British fleets were masters of the ocean, while the French Navy was not in condition to brave these rivals.

A new school of thought, based upon propagation of the *faith* and belief in the fruits of the earth and human labor—tillage and pasturage—arose among the French and clashed with the Spanish, Portuguese and British idea of the colony

"which pays." "The fabulous metal which Cipango harbors in its far-off mines" attracted all the seekers of gold, that gold which would permit the great powers to enjoy all the goods of this earth while living in idleness. Cartier, Champlain and Lescarbot in their reports and writings were the first to sing the praises of the soil and the native population. They said that these were "the true riches of the colonies."

The great mistake of Richelieu and of Louis XIV's great minister, Colbert, was to yield to the influence of Spain and England and establish a trade monopoly. The Colonial Pact gave all the benefits of trade with the colonies to the privileged companies and the mother country and thus hastened the disappearance of free wage labor in favor of the slave trade. This latter was the source of ephemeral wealth but enduring shame for the Colonies, the cause of their ruin when the Republic abolished slavery.

The task of the Monarchy was confined to destroying the feudal world and later the nobility and its prerogatives. The "two-hundred years war" for the definition of our boundaries constantly threatened by the House of Austria and England, absorbed all the activity of our kings. The House of Austria, clinging to its old vassals within France and threatened by us in Holland, preoccupied Richelieu and later Louis XIV during his entire reign. The kings, in their struggle to preserve the boundaries of France, lost successively Acadia, Canada, Louisiana, India and the Antilles. The achievements of Champlain, Cavalier de la Salle, Father Marquette and Dupleix were wiped out. In the words of Gabriel Hanotaux, "the two-centuries' war continued till Waterloo." Yet during that struggle, at the peak of the Revolution, France extended her moral empire to include great parts of Germany, Italy and Spain. At one point she included one hundred and thirty departments (as against the ninety of today).

Intellectually the eighteenth century was a French century.

France's worst enemy, Frederick the Great, came under the spell of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. French thinkers and artists were acclaimed in Russia. Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot, in spite of the destruction of France's Empire as a result of disastrous wars, morally colonized all of Europe, America and South America. A new era, and intellectual crusade, began. Its aim was the liberation of the modern world.

The English had driven the French out of America in the Seven Years' War, but French troops returned to participate in the great war of liberation under Lafayette, Rochambeau and young Berthier, the future organizer of the victories of Marengo and Austerlitz.

A few decades later the war of independence burst like a thunderclap in South America. Inspired by Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws," which had had so profound an influence on the American constitution, Bolivar fired the first shot and Miranda—another admirer of the French Revolution—prepared the ground for the first trees of liberty. Linières, a Frenchman, saved Buenos Aires from the English and pinned the Phrygian cap on the Argentine flag; another Frenchman, General Boyer, the right-hand man of the great San Martin, decided Chile's fate at the battle of Maipu. Still another of our sons, General Labatut, triumphed at Cartagena. It was on French soil that San Martin chose to die.

What a Pleiad of high-souled and disinterested colonizers! All the liberties of Europe flowered in the fields where the volunteers of 1792 planted their flag.

France needed ten years to recover from the Battle of Waterloo. Then, once more, under the Bourbon Restoration she took up the struggle for colonies. She freed North Africa from the domination of the Berbers and purged the Mediterranean of pirates. Out of this epic feat, modern Algeria and Tunisia were born. Jules Ferry's idealism triumphed over Clemenceau's continentalism.

On the high road of colonial conquest we encountered the English at Tunis, in Madagascar, on Lake Chad, in the Congo and at the headwaters of the Nile, as well as in Indo-China and the islands of the Pacific. Yet it was out of the dramatic interview of Marchand and Kitchener at the source of the Nile that the *Entente Cordiale*, which saved the world in 1914, was born. The conquest of Morocco also grew out of this meeting.

In French Indo-China Garnier, shedding only his own blood, paved the way for the great soldiers who freed Tongking from the Chinese pirates, or Black Flags, and tore the Empire of Annam and the Kingdom of Cambodia out of the claws of Siam which had reduced them to slavery. Is this the "imperialism" which Mr. Willkie condemns? We think it leads to the liberation of the colonial peoples and their adjustment to modern civilization.

Have we imposed our laws, our religion, our form of government upon the populations of all these regions? France's Mohammedan policy is the best answer to this question. We have thirty million subjects who live according to the law of Mohammed. All our measures for more than a century have been based upon respect for their traditions and the desire to help them develop their patriarchal society into a modern society; this is different from the policy of other colonizing powers. And our policy has produced tangible results. The French Republic has undertaken a crusade of its own, a crusade for hygiene, progress and education toward freedom. In Algeria for more than a century we have illustrated our program for expansion in Africa. Algeria is our model colony and the test of the representative regime which we have sought to establish, step by step, in all our possessions in Africa, Asia and America. It is also our model colony because it comprises three departments which are among the most prosperous in all France.

Burdeau wrote this about Algeria: "It is our duty to im-

prove the lot of the natives, to bring them, little by little, into the great family of Frenchmen, to bring about the rapprochement of the two races." One of our great African administrators, Jules Cambon, said: "We must win the Algerian Mussulmans over by a policy which will apply to thirty millions of subjects; we must bring our laws into harmony with the customs of the population, maintain a balance between the interests of French colonization and the interests of the people." And it was Cambon who told Parliament: "Create a Council of Algerian Affairs, which will concern itself solely with local matters and where representatives of the settlers and of the natives themselves can be heard."

Algeria has its own budget, as all our colonies have. In 1910 special items were included in this budget for relief, public health and native education on all levels. French social and labor legislation applies to the whole population of Algeria. The law of 1893 established public loan associations and primary schools for the natives. Medical aid is given the Mussulmans. Hospitals have been created for them with an annual endowment of three million francs (six hundred thousand dollars). Similar establishments were opened in Kabylia. In 1900 the Arabs had two hundred and eighty-eight primary schools. By 1914 these had forty-five thousand pupils. The cultural societies (Dje-Maas-El-Tellabra) are introducing the Berbers to modern culture.

After the natives served under our flag they won the right to participate in municipal elections. They were admitted to the highest ranks in the army. They had tax equality with the inhabitants of metropolitan France and complete naturalization was offered them if they renounced certain privileges given them under the law of the Koran (polygamy, etc.). If they still clung to these privileges they were permitted to participate in local affairs, though not in national ones. Finally the Dje-Maas or Councils of Notables of the Douars were fully

restored by the law of 1918. These are the age-old democratic institutions of the Arabs, elected by the people. They take charge of the compulsory road labor of the members of the Douars and of the communal funds. They use these for public works, communal projects and the improvement of the pasture land of the Douars. More than one hundred thousand Arab and Berber voters take part in the nomination of the financial committees of Algeria; four hundred thousand help to elect the Municipal Councils and Dje-Maas.

In Algeria we have created a nation which never existed under the Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman, Arab or Turk rulers of the past. Now that the right to vote has been given them, the Algerians wish to become part of the French family. But they will preserve their own special type, a happy combination of the two races. This is assimilation from within, the creation of a common soul. During the World War a pure Algerian became well known in the United States. He was Premier René Viviani, who came to plead the cause of France along with Marshal Joffre. We still remember the reception given him by the generous people of America.

It must be noted that our policy of liberation does not apply only to our empire; we have always practised it in Europe. It is our tradition. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 Alexander I offered Talleyrand the Rhine and the Mediterranean if France, which was at that time completely occupied by enemy troops, would consent to the destruction of Poland, freed by Napoleon and now mutilated once more. France did not consent. In the course of the nineteenth century she championed Syria, Greece and Egypt. This latter was blocked in her struggle for liberation by the blindness of Lord Palmerston, just as Europe was blocked by Baldwin in 1936 over the question of the reoccupation of the Rhineland, and by Chamberlain in 1938 over the Sudeten question. France has always been the champion of the Holy Land, of Rumania, Bulgaria and Ser-

bia which Briand saved from annihilation in 1916, in spite of the protests of her Allies, by sending French troops to Salonika at a moment when Paris itself was threatened.

What Mr. Willkie calls imperialism is, as far as France is concerned, *a crusade which has been carried on for eight centuries*. This crusading spirit inspired the conquest of our second colonial empire of which Mr. Willkie demands the liquidation. This distinguished American is fighting a phantom which vanished in the far-off past: colonization through exploitation. Certain powers, perhaps, practised this type of colonization until 1850; we gave it up when we lost our first colonial empire. One hundred and fifty years ago we rejected all exploitive methods, so completely, in fact, that during the last century the anti-colonialists of France and M. Clemenceau above all, advocated the abandonment of the colonies and abstention from future colonization on the grounds that the colonies *took too much of the national budget* and that the policy of collaboration and assimilation which we pursued in Africa, in the Indies and in Indo-China *resulted in a balance sheet of sacrifices all on our side*.

The British Empire and the French Empire have become political and economic necessities. The Commonwealth, with its bases all over the world, represents the only League of Nations *which has survived two wars*, since Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, Afrikanders and hundreds of thousands of Indian volunteers are fighting today with the same determination they had twenty-five years ago for the life and preservation of the Empire.

For the sake of the whole world we must unify Europe, not tear it apart. Mr. Willkie demands the dissolution of the British Empire; this is the only point on which he is in agreement with Hitler. As for France and her near-by economic adjunct, the African Empire, with its thirty million Mohammedan subjects, it is one whole. By a patient labor of assimilation, by

greater and greater native representation culminating in representation in the governing bodies of the nation, France is consolidating the moral and material ties which bind together forty million continental Frenchmen and sixty million overseas Frenchmen, white and colored.

The gratitude and loyalty of France's Empire children have never failed her, not even after her defeat. Fifty thousand of them have enlisted under her flag and, side by side with the soldiers of America and England, have just driven the Axis out of Africa; four hundred thousand are in training for the invasion of Europe. Shall we again commit the mistake of Versailles and push fanatical nationalism to its extreme limits? Shall we add to the list of weak peoples, ill prepared for independence and even worse prepared to defend their interests and their territories? The future Peace Conference will have other tasks to accomplish. It must break down the Chinese walls between the nations, establish moral and economic ties between them, try to create federations like the British and French Empires, instead of multiplying in a new way, as Mr. Willkie seems to wish, the number of nations with special little labels, thus developing what we are tempted to call: the passport policy.

In 1914, only Russia and the United States demanded passports from their nationals and visitors to their shores. Wilson took up this idea of Napoleon III and thus the plague was extended all over the world. The passport became the symbol of customs duties, quotas and nationalism with all its by-products: Nazism, Fascism and discrimination against Jews, Negroes and all colored races.

The first freedom for man is the right to move about, the right not to be hemmed in by walls under the pretext that there are forbidden lands, closed Paradises. Must people again be chained in a universe divided into cubby-holes each with a little label that can in no sense be called a flag, but

that is given the dignity of a flag? True internationalism, that which respects religions, traditions, languages and history, consists in not locking doors in the face of the European, Asiatic and African peoples. But Willkie says to peoples, as yet unprepared for independence: You must be the uncontested rulers in your own land. Govern yourselves even if you exclude your brothers, defend yourselves against aggression by your own efforts, even if you are weak and without weapons. But he forgets that they will be forbidden to go outside the narrow limits of their own frontiers, the New World will be closed to them. Those who do not like either the dictatorship so popular in barbaric countries nor the civil war which is the by-product of racism, will find the doors of free America closed to them in accordance with the law of 1921.

All the South American Republics have followed this example and on this magnificent, peaceful, free continent one can travel for hundreds of miles without seeing a house or a farm. How can we establish and defend one of the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, Freedom from Want, if one of the richest parts of the world remains unexploited? In Florida alone vast territories are lying fallow. How can we make Freedom from Fear a reality if the democrats of Central Europe remain convinced that they are chained to the prisons of a Germany which, having been rescued from tyranny twenty-five years ago, rejected democracy by votes and threw herself into the arms of the Storm Troopers and the Gestapo?

Mr. Willkie ends by believing in good faith that everything *national* is good. He does not speak of India, for he did not stop there; but if he did speak of her, there is no doubt that he would be on Mr. Gandhi's side. In India he would not see that two powerful sects have been tearing each other to pieces for centuries, of which the weaker one, the Mohammedan, would be doomed to destruction by a liberated majority—so said the leader of their movement recently in the *New York*

Times. Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr wrote in *The Nation*, which cannot be suspected of imperialism: "Mr. Willkie seems a little too much like a Wilsonian libertarian, emphasizing the necessity of granting freedom to all the nations without giving a full statement of how this liberty is to be kept from becoming *suicidal* in an interdependent world."

Nationalism, pushed to extremes, ends, like Communism, in Statism, that is, in the suppression of liberty. This nationalism has taken the place of the religious fanaticism of the past. Such is the nationalism of certain Syrians who would like to reduce the Lebanese, Alouites and Druses to slavery.

Let us not take the axe to the French and British Empires, those embryonic Leagues of Nations, those schools of government, out of which there are coming into being and will come into being more and more free and autonomous nations protected by their mutual solidarity and their progress. To convince yourself of the usefulness of our crusade, now at the moment when a new world is being born, you have only to read the lessons of history. That is why I have undertaken to write that of the French colonies. Is it a history? No, it is really an epic.

THE COLONIZING NATIONS

REPUTATIONS are often founded on legends. The most widespread legend in the world—even in France—has been that only the English are colonizers and that the age of the Dutch and the Portuguese has passed. Yet recent history has shown that some of the methods used by the British involve dangerous risks, which may lead to serious consequences. Nevertheless, the British did build the most powerful of all empires after the Roman Empire; and the impartial observer may conclude that their political methods are superior to those of all other nations.

We must be fair: England alone of all the European nations was resisting the German-Italian coalition—and with admirable stoicism—when Japan attacked her Chinese and Burmese possessions; at that time the United States had been stricken a treacherous blow and its main fleet seriously impaired at Pearl Harbor. Therefore it is not surprising that in regions where the past had weakened the British, a revolutionary rumble broke out; that Hong Kong, Singapore and Burma seemed to detach themselves like ripe fruit from the powerful tree; and that a wave of separatism spread trouble among the populations of India. In contrast to these, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, to which the Empire has been an obvious blessing, have solidly rallied around the mother-country in order to defend the Commonwealth.

Nor have the native populations of the Dutch Indies seemed overly attached to their mother-country. It is only reasonable to infer that certain British and Dutch methods are out of date and that the old adage "the colony must pay" has become ob-

solete. For centuries the subject populations of these two powers have been treated only as producers of wealth and exploited on behalf of the conquerors. Such a policy could not lead to assimilation or merging of the peoples.

French experiences under the new colonial regime applied in our possessions in Africa, America and Asia, have been entirely different. Thus, even after we had suffered the greatest military disaster of our history, the Indo-Chinese rose to fight against the Japanese and Siamese until they were handed over to Tokyo by a government subservient to the Nazis.

A closer examination of the historical facts shows that the British were not pioneers in colonization. It was the French who, at the time of the Crusades, were the first to colonize the Near East and Sicily. Then it was Spain and Portugal who, before any other country in Europe, laid claim to the West Indies. In 1492 Spain inaugurated the era of great discoveries. Cuba was occupied by Charles V. Between 1492 and 1600, the Spaniards explored and established themselves in Mexico and seized almost the entire South American continent. If Charles V and Philip II had not exhausted their treasure and their colossal armadas, their empire would have survived. Portugal, too, sought a route to India. Unaware of the existence of a continent between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Portuguese sailors moored their fleet at the mouth of the Maranhão (in 1500) and in 1567 founded Rio de Janeiro.

The situation of France was completely different. The sixteenth century witnessed the decline of her naval power, which had been neglected since the Hundred Years' War. After Richelieu our resources were exhausted in the Fronde's Civil War and at Mazarin's death Colbert disposed of only a few scattered galleys in our Atlantic and Mediterranean ports. For this reason the French owe their first discoveries and conquests to adventurers.

Under Francis I, a French shipowner from Dieppe, Jean

Ango, set out to explore the New World. The first to privateer for gold and spices, he encountered the Spanish and Portuguese fleets which stopped him in his great adventure. Without losing courage he turned his face toward Asia. Francis I, after his Italian defeat and captivity, supported him only weakly, and each of Ango's victories was vitiated by concessions wrested from France by Spain and Portugal.

Later, Coligny, seeking a refuge for the first Huguenots, won footholds in Brazil and Florida. In 1551 his settlers landed in South America; in 1562, in Florida. They were not supported by the Court—Charles IX was no more anxious to quarrel with Spain than Francis I.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch entered the colonial arena. In 1580 Spain conquered Portugal, and Dutch vessels were excluded from Lisbon where they had hitherto bought the goods on which their trade had prospered. The Dutch sailed their heavy ships toward the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, using Batavia as their main port of call. They fought continuously with the Portuguese fleet, but succeeded in seizing Ceylon. In 1612 the East India Company was founded in Amsterdam and immediately after its first expeditions began to distribute large dividends to its stockholders. England and France were busy in Europe, one torn by religious wars, the other engaged in a struggle against the House of Austria. But soon these two countries, equipped now with powerful fleets, allied themselves to despoil the Dutch. This was the era of the epic battles between Duquesne and Ruyter.

Jean Ango, whom nothing discouraged, did not content himself with bringing the Dieppe privateers to Brazil. In 1532 he went as far as Sumatra and China, then his death put an end to our first era of exploration. It was not until the reign of Henry IV (1589-1610) that a French *Compagnie des Indes*

Orientales opened its first trading posts in Africa. It soon ran into Dutch power in the Cape colony.

These plans were taken up again by Richelieu, but despite his efforts he failed in the Sunda Islands. He founded several privileged companies, but was more interested in trade and religion than in colonization. It was under Colbert, Louis XIV's Minister, that France envisaged a policy of permanent conquests.

Our brief survey has now reached the middle of the seventeenth century—and at that time England had not yet carved out its share of overseas possessions. Thus she came upon the scene after all the other countries, despite her insular situation, which later made her the first naval power of the globe. Except for an expedition to Newfoundland led by the Venetian, Cabot, and backed by Henry VII, she had no discovery to her credit. But the British were to profit from the work of the Spaniards, Portuguese and French when their turn came to attempt the conquest of America.

It must be said that England had great difficulties to overcome. Spain, Portugal and France seemed to have divided the world among them. Especially in America all the coasts were already occupied, all the territories claimed. For these reasons, with a force of five thousand ships, she began to privateer. Her first blows were directed against Spain. Queen Elizabeth financed corsairs and privateers who surprised Philip II's heavy galleons in the Atlantic laden with gold and spices, and brought back enormous spoils. Her ex-fiancé was at last aroused to action. He sent a powerful army against England aboard the only armada which had attempted the conquest of the British Isles since the time of the Normans. This mighty fleet was destroyed in the English Channel and its remnants scattered along the Dutch coast. Elizabeth saved her kingdom from her main enemy, who henceforth devoted himself entirely to the Inquisition.

At that time the French Navy was of little consequence. We were too busy with other things. England took advantage of this situation to divide world trade into two zones: she allowed Holland to carry the traffic of the rich East; for herself she reserved the Atlantic. Then Spain did her another service. The Duke of Alba by his persecution of the Dutch Protestants—like Louvois later by his dragooning of the Huguenots—supplied her with her first cloth-weavers. Elizabeth was not content with creating a powerful industry; she also established a Royal Bank and, like the Lombards before her, pursued a policy of credit which laid the foundations of British overseas trade. She colonized North America, where Raleigh cast anchor to establish the first trading posts; two great companies founded New England and Virginia.

All the conquerors, whether Spanish, Portuguese, French or British, were seeking gold which Peru had poured into Europe during the sixteenth century. This source of supply was now exhausted. The British failed to discover it in America; they realized that their activity had to expand in other fields, and their farmers emigrated *en masse* to New England and Virginia. Like Coligny's Protestants and like Jacques Cartier, they experienced difficulties in establishing their settlements, but religious persecution was on the increase in Europe, and new waves of laborers continued to arrive to till the most fertile soil in the world.

But even here the British were not the first. French fishermen had reached Newfoundland; French trappers had gone up the Saint Lawrence. Henry IV by the end of his reign had appointed Sieur de la Roche as the King's First Lieutenant in these regions. France then continued her expeditions under Chauvin, Pontgravé and Champlain. The French settled in Acadia and founded Quebec. It was French Jesuits, who by their overintensive proselytizing later opened wide the gates of Canada to the British.

After the *Compagnie des Cent Associés* had been founded and Richelieu asserted French rights in the Treaty of Saint-Germain, England resolved to act. She made a clean sweep of the Spanish possessions and allied herself with Holland against France. But the British Navigation Act of 1651 induced the Dutch to change camps. This act forbade the importation of goods into England in foreign vessels which formerly had been allowed to sail up the Thames carrying the produce of America and the East. A vast field opened up for England and her merchant marine. She became especially active in the Caribbean Sea, where the Antilles passed from hand to hand.

Cromwell seized Jamaica, which had been wrung from the Spaniards by treaty, and after the Peace of Breda, landed at Saint Christopher and Antigua. Holland saw England, her ally of yesterday and France, her ally of tomorrow, join forces to dislodge her from her possessions. Colbert's fleet increased from day to day. But Charles II of England, who had for a long time been subsidized by Louis XIV, grew worried at our increasing power and suddenly turned against France. Under the pretext of defending the Protestants, one of his successors, William of Orange, attacked France in every corner of the world. This was the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), in which we lost half our colonies under the blows dealt by England.

By the Treaty of Methuen, Britain gained great advantages in Portugal. Then came her struggle against Spain. France became involved in this so-called War of the Austrian Succession and in the course of it England successively seized many of our possessions; in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which cost us Canada, Louisiana and India; and finally in the War of the American Revolution. The nineteenth century witnessed the struggle to death between Britain and Napoleon. In 1815, Britain's victory over Napoleon was crowned by the conquest of New Guinea, the Cape, the Seychelles Islands and

the Ile de France in the Indian Ocean, Ceylon, Bengal, Mysore, Delhi, New Holland and Tasmania. Now, Britain was mistress of all the seas.

In the middle of the nineteenth century she continued her African conquests from the Cape to Zambezi. The Boer War brought her the richest gold fields in the world. In 1904, by an agreement with France, she consolidated her protectorate over Egypt, and the First World War brought her the mandate in Palestine. After two centuries of continuous conquest, can we refuse her the palm among colonizing nations?

And yet, after having lost her first colonial empire, France, by the bravery of her soldiers and her cooperative methods in dealing with the natives, succeeded in reconstituting an empire almost as vast as the first, which extends from French Guiana and the Antilles to Indo-China and Oceania and includes half the African continent.

Superficial minds, in the face of this evidence, have denied that the French are colonizers. It is true that despite Colbert's efforts our population refused to be expatriated. Enjoying one of the most temperate climates in Europe, receiving the products necessary for her economy from every corner of the globe, France, an agricultural country par excellence, did not encourage her children to leave the sweetness of their native land for distant places, unknown and often unhealthful. Was it not because of this attachment to our homeland that such magnificent conquests as Louisiana, Acadia, Canada and India were lost to us, for lack of settlers?

What saved us and what enabled us, especially after 1870, to set out once again to conquer unexplored territories, was our spirit of adventure. What Ango, Cartier, Roberval, Coligny, de Gourgues and Champlain had attempted, often without the help of the king, and often disavowed in the midst of their successes by agreements made against them in the

silent halls of chancelleries, others attempted under the Republic.

It was this spirit of adventure which inspired Dupleix, Lally Tollendal and Suffren. It was this spirit which gave birth to Jean Bart and Dumont d'Urville; and the same curiosity about the unknown was seen in the nineteenth century in men like René Caillé in West Africa, Francis Garnier and Jean Dupuy in Indo-China, in Savorgnan de Brazza in French Equatorial Africa.

In the eighteenth century the spirit of adventure sent Kerguelen to the Austral Islands, Surville and Marion Dufresne to New Zealand, and La Pérouse to the coasts of the North Pacific, to Kamchatka, then to the South Pacific, through Samoa, to Australia, where all track of him was lost. And there was d'Iberville, the founder of Louisiana, and Cavelier de la Salle, who was the first to reach the mouth of the Mississippi and baptized that great river the Colbert. Without this spirit which overcomes all obstacles, how could René Caillé who had no resources or help or a Segonzac and Foucault have realized their ideals, how could the unassuming postal employee, Auguste Pavie, have explored Upper Tongking and Laos?

In contrast to the British, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, the French, whose attitude toward the natives is one of affection, pursued a policy tending toward eventual equality for them. In the nineteenth century we applied a system which was unknown to the conquerors of the past because it was born of the French Revolution. In our colonies, basing ourselves on the humanitarian doctrine of friendly association and progressive assimilation, we carried out a program of liberation and civilization under conditions which are worthy of note. Thus, Faidherbe, in the midst of his task of pacification of Senegal, initiated a program for the education of the Negroes and for public works including the creation of a capital, for a network of roads and railroads and for reclamation of

unexploited regions. Paul Bert introduced a new administrative regime in Indo-China, a regime essentially different from the one prevailing in France and based on patriarchal life, on respect for native traditions, religions and customs, with the sole aim of attracting the population to the benefits of French civilization. Galliéni referring to the epidemics which decimated the natives wrote from Madagascar: "Send me four physicians, and I will send you back four army companies." Marshal Lyautey forced the whole world to admire his breath-taking development of Morocco—its roads, ports, railroads, first class hotels and towns where modern city-planning is more in evidence than in many European cities—Morocco, whose civil, judiciary and military administration is adapted to its age-old traditions, but which is developing the riches of its soil and subsoil in a truly modern fashion. The French have won over the Moroccans—the same Moroccans who, under the domination of the Romans, Turks, Arabs, Spaniards and Portuguese, had always revolted against their conquerors; today they live peacefully under French rule, even the warlike tribes of the Riff who had never before willingly accepted foreign rulers.

In contrast to other nations, except for a short period of groping in Algeria, France has never tried to impose its legislation or the type of administration employed in the home country upon the people of our colonies. France has always applied patriarchal methods of administration. Gradually, France has provided its possessions with technical services and men prepared to adapt native administrative methods to modern needs. Our *Ecole Coloniale* has trained its men to apply different methods in each colony, according to local conditions. We teach our administrators to understand the native races; we never force them, we bring them closer to us, raise them to our level, educate them, make them into nations.

Sully and Richelieu were skeptical about French abilities in

this respect: "The French temper is so quick," said the Cardinal, "that it wants the gratification of its desires as soon as they are conceived." This skepticism has proved unjustified. We have proved that the settlement of the white races in the tropics is a long and exacting labor. It is possible that Colbert's efforts remained fruitless because of the religious zeal which led our seventeenth century conquerors to bring missions, generally composed of Jesuits, with them; it must be said, however, that the Jesuits' spirit of sacrifice and courage in exploration was admirable. But this zeal is a thing of the past. In building its second colonial empire, the Third Republic concentrated on agricultural problems. It found that the education of the Arab, the Berber and the Negro is a slow process, that it is difficult to make natives abandon their age-old habits. It took one hundred years to transform the Algerian Mitidja into the richest cultivated land in Africa.

In the second half of the nineteenth century we replaced the *politique des petits paquets* by vast public works projects. Today, North Africa, West and Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons and Indo-China are furrowed by immense networks of railroads which fulfil the same function as those of Europe; and the intensive development of cotton production in the valley of the Niger has advanced considerably.

It was France's good fortune to have colonial administrators of vision. Her colonial empire is the work of Bugeaud, Galliéni, Faidherbe, Lyautey, Doumer, Sarraut and Roume. What we have accomplished in Morocco, in all North Africa, in Indo-China and in West Africa—the budgets of all these colonies are balanced today—gives the younger generation promise of a more prosperous and happy life. Colonization is a continual victory; every day we are perfecting our methods. To these methods, and only to them, we owe the friendship of the populations protected by France and their unshakable loyalty to us in our present misfortune.

THE FIRST FRENCH
COLONIAL EMPIRE

RICHELIEU AND COLBERT

"WHOEVER is master of the sea has great power on land." These prophetic words of Razilly inspired the grand designs of Cardinal de Richelieu and Jean-Baptiste Colbert. After the wars of religion and the internecine strife of the Fronde (Civil War between the King and the nobles), the two statesmen dreamed of building an empire like the ones already founded by Spain, Portugal and Holland. At the same time England was preparing to take the lion's share of the colonial world.

After the fall of La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold on the seacoast, Richelieu realized that France, "flanked by two seas on almost its entire length," owned but a few poorly equipped vessels. As early as 1596, Cardinal d'Ossa had warned Secretary of State Villeroy about this and had added that even the smallest Italian princes "although most of them had only an inch of seacoast, had each his own galleys and naval arsenal"; he urged France to build a navy. Thus, he said, she would put an end to "the disgrace of being a great kingdom flanked by two seas with nothing with which to defend herself at sea against pirates and corsairs, let alone princes."

During the siege of La Rochelle the Protestants had a fleet of seventy ships while Louis XIII was reduced to borrowing a few vessels from England, the crews of which, incidentally,

refused to fight their co-religionists. Richelieu put an end to this distressing state of affairs and fifty-six rated ships were launched from improvised naval arsenals. Thus, within the space of twenty years, distant colonies could be founded and the French flag displayed on all the seas, supported by sufficient forces to inspire respect.

Richelieu thought of America, of the African coast, of the Mediterranean infested by the Barbary pirates, of Madagascar and of the two routes to India, one across Muscovy and Persia, the other around the Cape of Good Hope. He knew that Christopher Columbus had not discovered the Indies, but had found gold on his voyages. Spain had inherited the mantle of Portugal, "the inventor of world navigation." During one century, the sixteenth, Spain had carried off five billion francs worth of gold from her American mines (which had not prevented Philip II from bequeathing a debt-ridden Empire to his heirs). This gold made the Cardinal and Jean-Baptiste Colbert dream great dreams. Nor were the Cardinal, and his grey eminence, Father Joseph, indifferent to the Spanish crusade. South and Central America had been converted to Christianity; Africa, North America, the Indies, Persia were still to be evangelized.

Richelieu studied the reports of the French sixteenth century explorers; Béthencourt and Jean Ango, to mention only the most illustrious among them, had brought back a heady perfume of adventure from Africa, Newfoundland, Brazil and from Surat in India; the route seemed to be traced. Meanwhile other powers had seen their empires crumble under the blows of their competitors. The Hanseatic League, for which, only fifty years earlier, the Baltic, Scandinavia and Muscovy had been a vast commercial field, went bankrupt. India was dominated by the Dutch, who between 1618 and 1623 monopolized all the Far Eastern trade; but the Navigation Acts voted by the House of Commons dealt a blow to this Empire, and





British investments already distributed eighty-seven per cent in dividends (according to Hoffman and Duesberg).

It was clear that France must get her share, but before undertaking the struggle at sea, the Cardinal wanted to know what methods were employed by the other sea powers. Molé gives us a picture of the results obtained: forty-five rigged up vessels, and the means put in action: the creation of big companies to which the King was to grant special privileges. Here we see the emergence of the colonial system with its ill-starred exclusive rights. "Saint Pierre's little fleur-de-lis skiff" was the poetic name of the first of these companies.

The Cardinal's program comprised several circuits. The African: the Mediterranean was to be cleansed of pirates, transformed into a French lake, and trade organized on the Atlantic coast. The Northeastern: through the North and Baltic Seas, in the footsteps of the Dutch, toward India via Muscovy and Persia. The Atlantic: from the coast of Africa to Brazil and Peru to join the race for gold. The Southeastern: the companies would do reconnoitering work via the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar and the Mascarene Islands toward the Indian Ocean in order later to conquer India.

Champlain and the Razilly brothers of La Rochelle gave him their advice, which opened up new horizons to him. Gold must be renounced as the main objective. What had to be sought was friendly agreement "with the inhabitants of the new lands; we should rear, educate and evangelize the conquered populations." Pontricourt wrote: "It is not by force of arms that the inhabitants of these vast countries should be brought to religion, but rather by persuasion and predication of the dogma and morality." Razilly summed up the program in one phrase: "The Cross and the Lilies." Champlain spoke only of agriculture and proselytism.

Consequently, the act of colonization of New France declared in Article Sixteen, dictated by the Cardinal, that "the

descendants of the Frenchmen who become inured to the said country, as well as the savages brought to the knowledge of the faith and professing it, will henceforward be supposed to be and will be considered native Frenchmen and, as such, will be able to reside in France whenever they please and therein acquire, bequeath, inherit, accept gifts and legacies just as actual native Frenchmen, without being obliged to take out any letters of declaration or naturalization."

Champlain promised Richelieu that Quebec would equal Saint Denis in splendor. The great minister committed himself completely to the colonial program. After a long deliberation of the council he declared: "The King continuing in the same desire as Henry the Great, his father of glorious memory, has decided to seek and discover in the lands and countries of New France, also called Canada, some habitation suitable for the establishment of settlers."

Such was the preamble of the letters patent granted to the new Company, the Morbihan. Meanwhile Champlain must have returned to France.

On August 18, 1634, Richelieu reestablished him in his governorship of New France. Isaac de Razilly installed himself in Acadia. Unfortunately, one year later Razilly and Champlain were both dead.

Next came the exploitation of the Antilles. The Cardinal was one of the founders—with a share of six thousand livres—of the *Compagnie d'Esambuc*. He was interested in La Ravardière's expedition to Guiana.

In 1642, the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was granted the monopoly of trade in Madagascar. Naval Captain Ricaut, according to his letters patent, obtained from Monseigneur L'Eminentissime Cardinal de Richelieu, the concession and privilege "to bring spices and export, along with the word of the only God, civilization and charity." According to the French historian, Gabriel Hanotaux, such was the Cardinal's

main idea. But his successor, Mazarin, was absorbed by the Fronde, the civil war and external difficulties. He let the Navy fall into a state of neglect.

The error which in one short century compromised Richelieu's admirable program was that he entrusted the work of colonization to monopolistic trading companies, whose mercantile spirit was concerned only with "colonies that paid," the intensive *exploitation* of the new lands. Razilly had foreseen this, and when the first colonists were in danger, he said of Canada that "it was incumbent upon the King to concern himself with them and take the matter in charge."

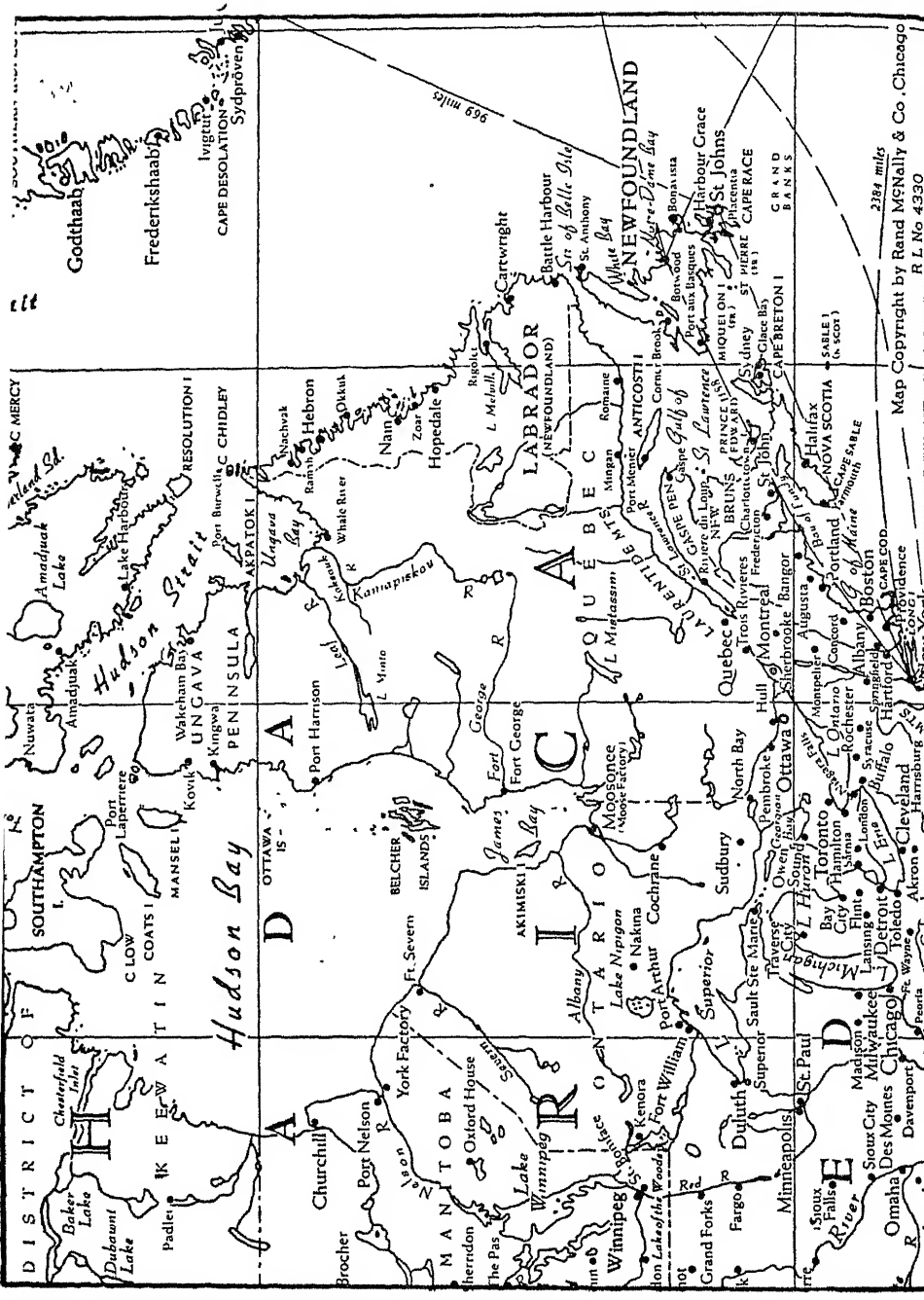
Monopoly proved to be the cancer of the colonial system. Under Louis XIV, France was to see one Company consummate the ruin of Canada despite Colbert's objections. This Company owed its privilege to the fact that it had given a bribe of 50,000 livres to the Maréchale de la Motte, the governess of the King's children. We know this from the memoirs of Robert Challes.

It was the creation of the monopolies, the most complete of which was granted to the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, that led to piracy, buccaneering and the slave traffic.

Behind the Cardinal and his projects stands the figure of Father Joseph who dreamed of evangelizing the New World. Richelieu went so far along this path that he set down on paper a new project for a holy war against the Turks to be waged in concert with the Holy Sea. Mazarin was to carry this project with him when he went to Rome but he never took it out of his bags.

The *Compagnies* followed one another: *Compagnie des Cent Associés*, *du Cap Vert*, *du Sénégal*, *du Nord*. Their titles reveal their fields of activity.

Jean-Baptiste Colbert resumed Richelieu's work and brought it to its zenith in 1671. To encourage the nascent French merchant marine he imposed a tax of fifty sous per



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R L No. 4330

2384 miles

barrel, directed against Holland. As a result of reforms whose beneficent effects can still be felt, 36,000 *inscrits maritimes*, or men enrolled for naval duty, joined the royal galleys. The number of French seamen now increased steadily, and at the time of Colbert's death, French crews comprised 70,852 sailors. In 1678, at the peace of Nimwegen, France possessed one hundred and twenty warships, of which sixty-three were armed with more than sixty cannon. In 1673 this fleet, under the command of Duquesne, had met Ruyter, commander of the Dutch navy, for the second time (at Messina) and inflicted on him a defeat in which he lost everything, including his life. By this feat Duquesne earned the personal congratulations of Colbert who at the bottom of the letter addressed to him in the name of the king, added in his own hand: "It is a long time since I have written a letter with as much pleasure as this one." This man of marble, as Guy Patin named him, "Vir Marmoreus," who gladly sacrificed all pleasures and amusements to the service of the state, "had a solid instrument in hand, which put him in a position to conquer the empire of the seas and more."

A last blow was to be dealt Holland by the revival of the *Compagnies des Indes Orientales* and *Occidentales*. This reorganization coincided with the tariff of 1664 which established the protectionist regime in the strictest sense of the term. It was on the trade with India that Colbert was to lavish all the benefits of privilege and protection. Before this, the *Compagnie de la Terre Ferme d'Amérique* had enjoyed the rights to exclusive commerce in the regions extending from the Amazon to the Orinoco, in Canada, in Acadia, in the isles of Newfoundland, from the northernmost tip of Canada to Florida, the coast of Africa, Cape Verde and the Cape of Good Hope. Now this immense monopoly devolved upon the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*. The *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was launched with éclat. A member of the French

Academy, Charpentier, drafted its prospectus. He represented the port of call of Madagascar as more favorable than that of Batavia, its inhabitants as extremely good-natured ("bon-asses") and greatly disposed to "receive the Gospel." The task of this Company was to set out from Madagascar to traffic in the Bay of Bengal and on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, in Ceylon and Surat. It was to take on supplies at Batavia.

At the beginning Colbert thought that to fit out fourteen ships six million francs would be sufficient, the king subscribing to one-tenth of the shares and the *grands seigneurs* three millions. The propaganda in favor of this enterprise went so far that Chancellor Séguier asked the Chamber of Justice to take shares. The registered funds were finally set at fifteen millions, of which the king subscribed three. The royal edict gave the company perpetual possession and the right to exercise justice and sovereignty over all territories, places and islands which it might conquer. In addition, the government was to supply it with all the salt it might need at wholesale prices and pledged itself to pay fifty livres per barrel of exported merchandise and half of that per barrel imported. The only duty of the Company—at this point the Cardinal's idea reappears—was to establish churches in Madagascar and all the places subjected to its domination. Tribunals were to function there in accordance with the customs of Paris. The Company adopted an escutcheon of round form, with an azure field and a fleur-de-lis in gold, enclosed in two branches, one of a palm, the other of an olive tree, with abundance and peace as bases. The device was a program in itself: *Florebo quocumque ferrar*. ("I shall flower where'er I am borne.") Madagascar was depicted in the most glowing colors; there, people were said to live to the age of a hundred and twenty; vines and fruits grew in profusion, the handsomest livestock imaginable covered the island and silkworms were common to all the

trees. Gold, iron, lead, tar, salt, sugar, pepper, tobacco, indigo, ebony, could be gathered by the shovelsful.

In spite of these attractive promises the number of colonists was insufficient and as early as 1670 the Company's situation was bad.

The *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* suffered many disappointments, too, and the fate of the *Compagnies du Nord*, *du Levant* and *des Pyrénées* was not better.

Privilege and monopoly were the cry of the day. "The love of the 'exclusive right' dominated all minds," says Forbonnais, "and the most striking experiences were disregarded." Then as today, the government wanted to regulate and direct everything. Planned economy is not the original invention of a few visionaries of the twentieth century. We have known for twenty years that it once brought the whole world to inflation and many nations to bankruptcy. Even under Colbert the government strangled private initiative; trade was persecuted and a Chinese wall was built of which the cost was paid by the consumers, the people, just as today.

By the end of his career, Colbert understood this truth. On January 6th, 1682, the Council decreed free competition in the Indies, on condition that private individuals use the Company's ships. Experience came to the help of logic.

To realize the extent of the disaster produced by monopoly and privilege it is useful to examine the system and its functioning. This doctrine reached its zenith in 1698 when its code was drafted. The code provided for the regime of exclusive rights born of the Navigation Acts which had secured the control of the seas for Great Britain to the detriment of Holland. Foreign importations to the colonies were forbidden; colonial trade was reserved to French vessels, just as it was reserved to British vessels in England, and this trade was not subjected to any restrictions. Foreign ships were even forbidden to *carry* merchandise to these colonies. (Actually Spain initiated these

policies which the rich colonies at first resisted.) Spice was at the basis of the trade. As the tropical colonies lacked labor power this was to be supplied by the slave traffic with its shameful profits extracted from human flesh. Thus, at the outset, the idea of conquest yielded to the idea of trade and it was the lust for lucre prevailing in the companies that got the best of Frontenac in Canada and Dupleix in India.

And yet, in 1717 the royal government was to adopt principles which had been formulated by Colbert shortly before his death. . . . The King then declared that "well administered colonies are one of the certain means of preserving and extending the power of great states; after having left South America to the Spaniards and Portuguese, shall we abandon North America to the English?" But when Law wanted to launch his banknotes, at a time when neither mono-metallism nor bi-metallism had yet come into existence, he based his credit on the wealth of the colonies. To do this he obtained the privilege and monopoly of the big companies, and on the basis of these privileges established a government bank which collapsed. It was still the principle of "the colony which must pay." When this colony without tools, without development, without colonists, could not supply the profits destined to support the banknotes, the speculation on the future became mere money changing, and an unprecedented debacle was the result.

Superficial minds concluded that colonization was nothing but a disastrous speculation, and Voltaire congratulated Choiseul for having rid France of Canada.

To make the picture complete let us follow Colbert's first experiment: the cruise of the Persian squadron in the Indian Ocean. In 1666 he received a report from La Boulaye on the future organization of the *Compagnie Française de L'Inde*, accompanied by a political program. La Boulaye suggested to attempt first the conquest of Bombay. Colbert wanted "a

good port and good air," but he had other projects, too, the most important of which was to foment a war between the British and the Dutch. He also felt the necessity of reestablishing the prestige of the fleur-de-lis on the sea. The king approved the project of sending "a good squadron of his warships" to India. The Persian squadron took a year to get under way. Finally six warships, two store ships, one hospital ship, fifteen hundred men and two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon left for Asia—"a small sample of the Great King's power."

La Haye, who commanded the squadron, was given the order to install himself at Ceylon and "in six or seven months to reach Surat." "His Majesty wishes that Sieur de la Haye give all his application and apply all his industriousness to form and found this settlement." The second stage was to be the island of Banca, more convenient than the trading post of Batavia, which belonged to Holland. He added that before returning the squadron was to show itself "on the coast of Malabar and to all the nations possessing territories and places at any point from the Cape of the Comoros to Arabia." La Haye brought magnificent gifts to the Grand Mogul Aurungzeb and fired cannon shots a-plenty in the name of the King.

Unfortunately, the directors of the Company, led by Caron, thought only of trade and were irked by the brilliant role assigned to La Haye. Caron was held in suspicion and La Haye, during a short absence of the director, learned unsavory things about him. The only clear-sighted member of the group, François Baron, former consul at Aleppo, was appointed General Director of the Company.

The squadron slowly moved along the coast of Malabar; everywhere, except at Goa, which belonged to Portugal, the French appeared to great advantage. The ruler of Calcutta presented the French with a strip of territory on the Carganor River. We shall speak hereafter of the misfortunes that befell

La Haye. Defeated by the Dutch, the best the Admiral could do was to have himself and the remnants of his fleet repatriated by his conquerors.

After the Admiral's return to France, Baron, who had remained on the coast of Coromandel, manoeuvred for some time. He succeeded in saving Pondichéry and overcoming enormous difficulties laid the ground for the work of François Martin. Such was the first cruise of the Company, which soon revealed its mercantile spirit and its inability to carry out Colbert's ideas.

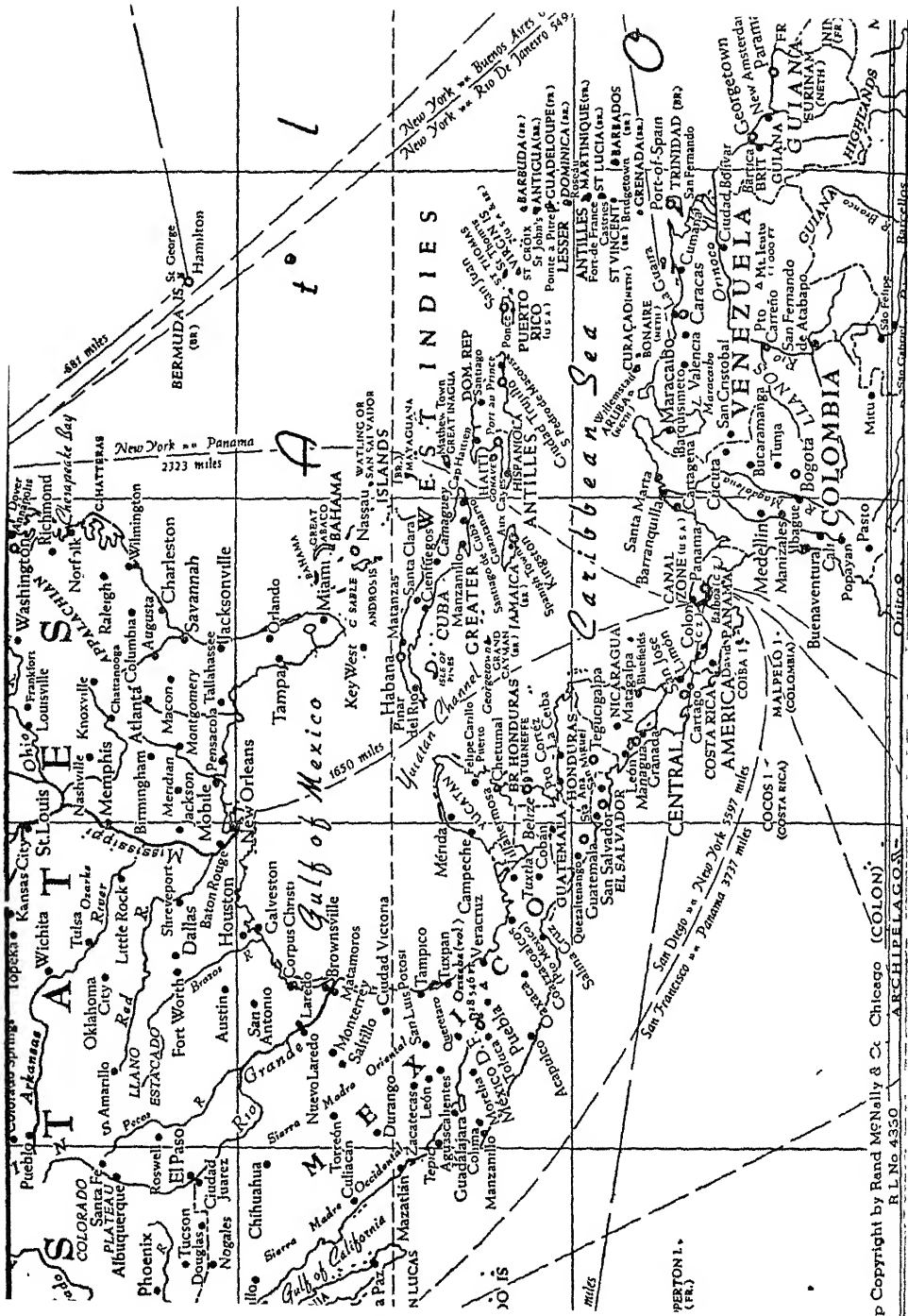
From that time on all the inconveniences of monopoly and privilege were apparent. It took long years to get rid of them, but in the interval the work of colonization had been dealt a death blow. Colbert had built a powerful navy, laid the foundations of a great empire, but the spirit of his time prevented him from developing it for the benefit of the French kingdom.

THE CONQUESTS OF THE MONARCHY

"At the same month /February/ and year /1571/ there was a decree given by the said Court /Parlement of Bordeaux/ whereby it was enacted that all the Negroes and Moors whom a Norman merchant had brought into this city to sell would be set free; France, the mother of freedoms, does not permit any slaves."

FROM THE CHRONICLES OF GABRIEL DE LURBE
Bordeaux, 1619

THE formation of the Frankish or Latin kingdoms after the Crusades was the work of Godfrey of Bouillon. It left profound marks throughout the Near East where the Arabs for centuries continued to call the nations of the West, Franks. Likewise, the conquest of Great Britain by the Normans brought Gallo-Roman civilization and legislation to the Anglo-Saxon nations, and English history bore their firm imprint until the advent of Henry VIII. The conquest of Sicily—another achievement of the Normans—is still attested by its cathedrals. During the Middle Ages, Jacques Coeur, the great merchant of Bourges, founded settlements and warehouses on the coasts of the Levant and Egypt, while Jean de Béthencourt established himself in the Canary Islands. And while the Portuguese explored the Indian Ocean and the coasts of China, while Magellan discovered the Mississippi Delta, while Cortez and Pizarro conquered Mexico and Peru, the French landed on Newfoundland. Thus they were not the last to come upon the scene.



Louis XI was fascinated by the Levant. Marseilles, brought once more under the crown, became a port destined to serve the Near East. Then, once again, Catherine de Medici directed French navigators from Normandy toward Florida and Newfoundland.

Paulmier de Gonneville, of Honfleur, tried to reach the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, but his compass led him astray. He landed on the coast of Brazil. It was Jean Ango's task to organize the shippers of Dieppe for the first armed French expedition. His company included scientists and geographers who helped him to prepare for this great voyage. He had obtained letters of mark from Francis I, but the king, preoccupied with appeasing Portugal and Spain, hindered his enterprise at every turn. Roberval and Jacques Cartier were to suffer the same fate: letters patent, but weak support.

It was Coligny who first saw exploration in a new light: colonization by the Huguenots. But he had no success. His settlers won footholds in Brazil and Florida, but they could not resist the superior forces of Portugal and Spain.

Henry IV wanted to take definite possession of the territories explored by his subjects. Lescarbot was the first to propose the exploitation of Canada, and Monchrétien recommended "the planting and nurturing of distant New Frances which will help the trade and increase the wealth of the state."

The achievement of Jacques Cartier deserves special attention. After Verazzano he attempted to reach the Pacific through the Arctic Ocean. In 1534 he set out from Labrador and the coast of Newfoundland and penetrated as far as the mouth of the Saint Lawrence. He established relations with native chieftains, discovered the island of the Assumption (today Anticosti) and plunged into unknown territories. On his path were two native states.

The center of Canada was Sladaconé, the capital of the

Hurons, or Quebec. There he discovered "the most beautiful trees in the world: yoke-elms, pines, walnut trees, cedars, ash-trees, water-willows . . . and plenty of vines." He pushed on further to Hachelaga, mountain of beavers, and baptized it Montreal, but his voyage was soon ended. If he abandoned his first great discoveries without regret, it was because most of his companions were ill or dead from overwork. Savages accompanied him on his return to the Court of Francis I. These new and enthusiastic human beings were of gentle disposition; they had welcomed him with cries of "Aguyaze," which "in their tongue is a word of salutation and joy."

Four years later Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, organized an expedition after long preparations. Before leaving, he was commissioned Lieutenant-General of New France; Cartier became Captain-General and Master Pilot, and the King bestowed a capital of 45,000 livres upon the new enterprise. Their troop was composed of settlers who, sad to say, were recruited mostly among convicted criminals.

In the course of this second cruise across America, Charlesbourg Royal was founded. Cartier brought back to France mica and copper which he took for diamond and gold. Roberval remained on the spot, but failed in his difficult negotiations with the natives: for a period of fifty years the Saint Lawrence colony was to be deserted. Like so many others Roberval looked for "the fabulous metal" in these glacial regions which had terrified the first explorers. Finally, only cod-fishermen and trappers who bought furs from the Indians remained behind.

In 1598 Henry IV revived these projects with Chauvin, Captain of the Royal Marine, and Pontgravé of Saint Malo as leaders of his expeditions; again they ended in failure.

In 1603, Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts in Saintonge, Governor of Honfleur, embarked in his turn, provided with a sonorous title: "Viceroy and Captain General both at sea and

on land of Cadia, of Canada and the other territories of New France." He was accompanied by Champlain, the king's geographer, and the Sieur de Pontreicourt. It was Champlain who made New France a colony. On the Bay of Fundy, Pierre du Gast erected Fort-Royal, which is today Annapolis. He was followed by Lescarbot, advocate at the Court of Paris, historiographer of the enterprise. This was the first attempt at colonization, at cultivation of important territories: "the finest land on earth," wrote Lescarbot; "its wealth is not gold," said Champlain, "but wheat and wine, and fodder for cattle." New Guiana or Acadia and Canada were the results of this conquest. Pontgrivé participated in it.

Once established in Quebec, Champlain, like all his predecessors, continued on his route toward the West, seeking the other ocean, the other route to India. The fresh-water sea of the Hurons which was one day to wash the capital of Canada, Ottawa, lay in his path, but the "peoples of France" did not respond to his appeal. As new establishments were created, older establishments melted away for lack of colonists; and fugitives from religious persecution in England were already arriving in throngs and establishing themselves in our ports.

This was the era of Richelieu and his colonial idea. Thirty years later, when the Cardinal created the *Compagnie des Cent Associés*, he decided to impose on it, as a condition for all its privileges, the duty of transferring at least four thousand colonists to Canada within fifteen years. But only Catholics were allowed to emigrate. Thus France lost the advantage of the natural flight of the Protestants at the very moment when they were soliciting British help, at La Rochelle as well as in Canada.

Despite the capitulation of Quebec under the blows of the English, the peace of Saint-Germain restored her possessions to France. But this encounter was to give Britain the desire to continue her efforts and drive the French, sooner or later,

out of the American continent by sheer force of numbers. France tried to lean on the native populations. It was easy to reach an agreement with the Hurons; but the Iroquois, a war-like tribe, annoyed by Jesuit propaganda, began to harass French colonists, burn their farms, sack their first settlements and pillage the territories of the Saint Lawrence.

In order to systematize his conquests, Colbert founded the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, entrusted with the organization of New France, and put a flotilla at its disposal. One of his relatives, Jean Talon, was appointed administrator in Canada and in eight years methodically developed lands and forests, created a textile industry, opened a potash mine and built a brewery. In his letter addressed to Colbert on October 4th, 1665, he condemned the monopoly system: "The Company will profit only by impoverishing the colony. Its monopolies discourage the people and paralyze business. It makes a dead letter of the King's instructions to encourage trade. If its privileges are maintained, Canada will be less populated in ten years than it is today." Colbert lifted the monopolies only on April 5th, 1666, for one year. He had replied to the administrator's letter that "the King regards his Canadian subjects, from the highest to the humblest, as his own children and wishes them to enjoy, just like the people of France, the gentleness and happiness of his reign. M. Talon will see to it that trade and industry are encouraged."

It was necessary to attract colonists at all costs, and to achieve this aim the administrator inaugurated a policy of subsidies for large families, and even went so far as to authorize marriages with natives. This method was to prove successful: French Canadians even today have as many as ten or twelve children, and the six thousand colonists sent by Louis XIV to Montreal and New France begot four million descendants.

Talon encountered serious difficulties in his dealings with

the Jesuits. This order had founded the College of Quebec (in 1665) and rendered immense service to France, but it aroused antipathy among the native populations. Colbert energetically supported his administrator against them. Unfortunately, Talon also came into conflict with the trappers who were in concert with the Jesuits despite the Jesuits' opposition to the sale of alcohol to the Indians. It was as a result of their representations that on March 8th, 1675, a decision was taken at the Sorbonne to the effect that "the sale of alcohol to the Indians will be prohibited." Talon was recalled.

Now Count de Frontenac arrived in Canada. Parkman calls him "the greatest Frenchman sent by the Crown to Canada." He was a governor, an organizer, an innovator. He did not leave the colony until after the death of Colbert and was supported by him for eight years through thick and thin. He returned when the future of French possessions was in question. Frontenac left a great name in Canada.

The Company had failed and disappeared from the scene. The King had taken its place. The governor had constituted Estates General all the initiatives of which had been obstructed at the outset. If Frontenac had been given a free hand, the Estates General would have become the backbone of Canada and would have secured her independence. She might have remained with France; but Versailles refused to yield an inch of its personal power.

Frontenac, too, ran into grave trouble with the Jesuits who had penetrated everywhere and dominated the country. He wrote to the Minister: "They are masters of everything pertaining to the spiritual, which is, as you know, an important machine to settle all the rest." While struggling with these difficulties he had to wage war against the Iroquois for several years. These had been armed against the French by the British, installed at New Amsterdam, which, after the Dutch left, became New York. If the Iroquois had been Frontenac's only

enemy, the struggle would have been easy; but he was also at grips with the British during the entire French war with the Augsburg League. William, the Silent, did not shrink from attacking the very heart of French possessions. He besieged Quebec, where Frontenac held firm. La Maison de l'Ile-au-Prince, transformed into an improvised fortress, besieged by the Indians and defended by a sixteen-year old girl who had organized the defenders like another Jeanne Hachette, had resisted all attacks. After eight days Frontenac came to her rescue. It was high time. This incident is a fine page in the history of an unequal struggle.

The Treaty of Ryswick (1697) once again restored the previous situation: the English and French remained established in their respective positions. Frontenac had consolidated his achievement.

The territory had expanded on Talon's initiative, thanks to bold explorations; Saint-Susson and du Leith pushed on up to Lake Superior. The whole region had been fortified by Frontenac, one fort was named after him. At the Niagara and in Chicago powerful redouts had been erected. Toward the South, the French reached the Mississippi and Arkansas. Seeking the ocean, Joliet and Father Marquette were led to the Gulf of Mexico; Cavelier de la Salle, the founder of Louisiana, was to follow in their footsteps.

As a result of the Treaty of Utrecht, France lost the Hudson Bay and Acadia which the *Compagnie de la Nouvelle France et de l'Acadie*, founded by Richelieu, had transformed into pasture lands. In three years Razilly and d'Aulnay had created an extremely prosperous fishing center in this region, as well as an extension of agricultural France; they fought in vain against the rising tide of British colonization. First lost, then reconquered after the Treaty of Breda, this magnificent possession of which Jean de Meule, one of its administrators, had written, "It is only a matter of Your Majesty's choice to lay

here the foundations of the greatest monarchy in the world," was definitely lost for France.

The men of Boston had always coveted it and made the first cut into it during the struggle with the Augsburg League when they took Fort Royal. By the Treaty of Utrecht France surrendered this whole territory which she had enriched by the labor of her hands, and was compelled to make peace with her most dangerous enemies, the Iroquois. It is true that she retained New France, but this colony was now deprived both of its eastern and southern adjuncts. Louisiana stopped at the fortieth parallel, leaving a wide gap between the two colonies. How could Canada, thus hemmed in with only 18,000 French colonists, resist the thrust of 250,000 British? In the course of the eighteenth century, as a result of incessant efforts, five thousand new families emigrated to Canada. Two very small cities, Quebec and Montreal, were their rallying centers. The dispersed farmers and trappers spread over this immense territory could not defend themselves. But isolation and danger forged the Canadian character: "soldiers of magnificent mettle, more spirited and better instructed than the soldiers of France"—these were the words of Bougainville.

For a period of twenty years exploration toward the Pacific was attempted by the Marquis de Beauharnais, Governor of Canada, seconded by famous pioneers, and Varennes de la Véranderie, who discovered the Rocky Mountains. Under this governor all the western part of the continent was prospected. Plates of cast iron bearing the stamp of France can still be found buried in the soil of Western Canada.

Even after the Treaty of Utrecht, the Ile Royale defended itself against the invader from Acadia. Louisbourg was subjected to a famous siege and succumbed, but was returned to us by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The struggle for the valley of the Ohio was particularly fierce. Protestant immigrants from North Ireland and German Presbyterians contended with

us for it. The loss of the Ohio meant the definitive severance of Canada from French Louisiana. The French and Indians offered magnificent resistance. England wanted to make an end of both of them. In 1755, after an epic struggle marked by victories and defeats, while Canada called for help, France dispatched the Marquis de Montcalm. He died in the defense of Quebec, drawing his conqueror with him into the grave. In 1763 the loss of Canada was consummated; and 1763 cost us also the Ile Royale and Louisbourg, our last bastions in Acadia. We exchanged them for St. Pierre and Miquelon.

LOUISIANA

The discovery and conquest of Louisiana is the epic of Robert Cavelier, who, like Jean Ango, was an adventurous Norman. He came to Ohio in 1667. After his first exploits he was given patents of nobility by Colbert and became Cavelier de la Salle.

Entrusted with a new mission by Louis XIV's minister, he followed in the footsteps of Father Marquette along the Mississippi. It was not until 1682, after two years of disappointments, that he went down the length of the river, gave it the name of Colbert, and laid the foundations of Saint Louis. On the shores of the Gulf of Mexico he squared a tree, attached the king's arms to it on a leaden plate on which even today one can read: "In the name of King Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre, April 9th, 1682." This was Louisiana. He went up the Mississippi in a rowboat. But even then, because of his brilliant achievements he was pursued by the jealousy of his superiors. The Governor de la Barre interfered with his projects and accused him of every conceivable crime.

This is what Abbé Bernou, in a report to the Marquis of Seignelay, said of the new conqueror: "He is irreproachable

morally, is regular in his behavior and wants order among his people. He speaks or understands four or five languages of the savages. He knows all their manners and obtains everything he wants from them by his skill and his eloquence and because he is greatly respected by them. Under the protection of His Eminence he will found colonies more formidable than those hitherto established by the French." This excerpt, quoted from Parkman's works, is significant about a man who conquered for France a territory from which twenty-four of the United States of America were later carved.

Cavelier returned to France, succeeded in winning over Colbert and in 1687, after Colbert's death, left again with the title of Governor of the new colony. But there he was abandoned on the shore by his own ships and a few days later was killed by his companions.

His exploits filled his contemporaries with enthusiasm. Le Moyne d'Iberville, an inhabitant of Rouen, another Norman (what a race of conquerors! Byzantium, Sicily, England, Florida, Louisiana) who left his mark in Canada, set out from France in 1698, entrusted, too, with a mission. After a long and fruitless quest, unable to discover the mouths of the river, he decided to land on Biloxi Bay. D'Iberville prophesied that if France did not send at least four or five thousand Canadians to this region the conquest of the North American continent would be secured for England. "The English," he wrote, "have the colonial spirit. If France does not lay hands on this part of America which is the finest, the English colony, which is growing very considerably, will so increase that in less than one hundred years it will be strong enough to seize all America and drive out all the other nations."

The Huguenots were transported to the Mississippi by a British Company, while the Spaniards fortified themselves in eastern Florida and consolidated their rule in Mexico. With one of his cousins, Lesueur, d'Iberville built a fort at the

mouth of the river. The two died while engaged in this task in nascent New Orleans.

In 1708 the situation in Louisiana became so precarious that Pontchartrain dispatched a new governor, Lamotte Cadillac, who was supported by Crozat, an extremely wealthy financier. Lamotte prevailed upon Crozat to found a company and obtained for it a fifteen years' monopoly which extended to everything: trade, mining, rights of sovereignty, settlements of all sorts.

The struggle he intended to wage against the British was hopeless; Port-Dauphin was indefensible. His successor, Le Moyne de Bienville, tried to restore the situation, but Crozat, after a thousand rebuffs, renounced his privilege. Then Bienville tried a policy based on cooperation with the natives; thanks to him we could rely on the loyalty of certain tribes, especially the Natchez. This fragile edifice was to be overthrown by two adventurers, one of whom, Captain d'Etcheparre, aroused even the most loyal tribes against us by his excesses. The Natchez were the first to revolt. They took one of our settlements by surprise, and the massacre that ensued brought consternation and terror to the very gates of New Orleans, now a prosperous city through the efforts of tenacious settlers.

Governor Vandrevil resumed the policy of his predecessor, and his successor, Kerlerec, who had been governor general of Canada, defended the colony for some time with the help of the Illinois against whom the British set a formidable warlike tribe, the Chicahas. The Regent, however, still hoped to develop Louisiana. It was through his fault that the colony became the battlefield of the *Compagnie d'Occident*, founded by Law, of unhappy memory. Like Crozat, Law obtained all the sovereign rights in the colony, those pertaining to the exploitation of the lands and factories and those pertaining to the administration of people and things. This monopoly was

subjected to only one condition: the importation of six thousand prospectors and three thousand Negroes in ten years. But the French refused to leave their homeland. Law, unable to find Frenchmen willing to emigrate, did not shrink from collecting convicts and prostitutes who were dispatched *en masse*. These strange colonists were not even given shelter when they disembarked at New Orleans. Their arrival aroused the indignation of the Court and the city. This was the beginning of the end for Law.

Meanwhile Le Moyne de Bienville, assisted by a certain Payer, a talented engineer from Artois, worked to develop the capital; despite their struggle with the *Compagnie Occidentale*, these two men explored the course of the river, made the channel navigable and wrote what is perhaps one of the finest pages of our colonial history. The French spread among the Natchez and the Illinois, along the Mississippi, up to the Rocky Mountains. Once again Indians, this time from Upper Missouri, appeared at Versailles. They can be seen in the Gobelins tapestries woven for the king in commemoration of their visit.

The Company did not support French explorers or colonists and yielded everywhere to British influence. In 1732 it was compelled to renounce its privilege.

Bienville, isolated from other French possessions, with Canada lost and Louisiana compromised, was stabbed in the back by the Versailles clique. Kerlerec learned that Choiseul by one stroke of the pen, without warning him, had given equal parts of this immense territory to England and Spain. Voltaire congratulated him: "If I dared I would adjure you on my knees to rid the Ministry of France, forever, of Canada. If you lose it you lose almost nothing." What an aberration!

Thus, in one century, Acadia, Canada, Louisiana, almost all the French continent, had melted away. A hundred years of

strenuous efforts were compromised by a weak and discredited monarchy.

Yet it would fall to France, driven from America by Britain and Spain, to reconquer that continent for freedom side by side with Washington. The policy of taxation without representation which imperiled the splendid possessions acquired by England in 1763 is well known. The States revolted and in 1776 proclaimed their rights and then their independence. The philosophic movement of the Encyclopedists was an important factor in this development. The British defeat at Saratoga aroused immense enthusiasm in France. At first only young liberal-minded aristocrats, such as Lafayette, came to lend their swords to Washington; later, helped by Franklin's mighty genius, they finally triumphed over Louis XIV's weakness and hesitations. Rochambeau, accompanied by Berthier, disembarked with an expeditionary force. De Grasse commanded a fleet; it was high time; Washington was at the end of his tether, he was retreating. Under the pressure of the French army, Lord Cornwallis was forced to surrender.

In 1800, Bonaparte, with fifty thousand French colonists behind him, obtained Florida from Spain. We had regained mastery over the Gulf of Mexico, but America, which rightly refused to fall under the domination of France, especially the France of Napoleon, now that it had freed itself of English rule, prevailed upon the First Consul to sell Louisiana. The negotiations were carried on by Barbé-Marbois with Livingston and Monroe. The Americans paid eighty million francs (\$16,000,000) for a colony which today comprises twenty-four states, among the most prosperous in the Union.

It must not be believed, however, that nothing remains of this great past. Our culture in North America, as in South America and the Near East, has left indelible marks. The roots continue to extend, even though criminal or neglectful hands cut the trunk. Today Nova Scotia numbers fifty-four thousand

Frenchmen; New Brunswick one hundred and twenty-one thousand; L'Île St. Jean, ten thousand; Les Petites Cadiès, one hundred thousand. Half a million French Acadians have survived with their traditions, religion and language after three centuries of oblivion. In Canada, the French Canadians who have become a separate nation are counted in the millions; they have preserved everything they brought from France, including the Picard accent which is unmistakable. In Quebec and Montreal there are still French homes where the purest tradition is maintained. Numerous are the Canadians who, after centuries of British rule, still do not speak English. Since 1930, the replies to the Throne of the Canadian deputies and senators have been made in French. Four million French Canadians are more jealous of their pedigree than the ruling families of Europe. In Louisiana, too, the marks left by the French are deep, although less apparent. New Orleans is full of old hostels with sloping roofs situated between courtyards and gardens. Piquet relates: "It was with a pang at my heart that I recently heard an American woman tell me as she shook my hand: 'I am a Frenchwoman, a Frenchwoman from New Orleans.'"

In America we have retained St. Pierre and Miquelon, the Antilles and Guiana. Let us recall their conquest, their glorious past and their magnificent present.

The Portuguese boast of having discovered Newfoundland in the year of grace 1500; yet Lescarbot wrote: "Within all memory and for several centuries our men from Dieppe, St. Malo, La Rochelle and other seamen from Havre de Grace, Honfleur and other places have made ordinary trips to these countries, in order to fish cod with which they have fed almost all Europe and supplied all sea-going vessels . . ." He wrote this under Henry IV. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the continent which borders Newfoundland was called

Terre des Bretons. Marie de Medici appointed Troilus de Megouez, a nobleman from Brittany, Viceroy of Newfoundland in 1578. He encountered the British and was unable to plant the fleur-de-lis in his domain. Twenty years after, a hasty landing was ventured of which the survivors were later discovered (at the beginning of the seventeenth century) by the Breton fishermen in their heavy barges. The inhabitants of Saint Malo retained a coast-guard vessel there moored at the Petit Nord. It was not until 1638 that a Lieutenant General of Newfoundland and Acadia was appointed; another quarter of a century passed by and a governor actually installed himself on the spot.

Bretons, Normans, Basques and sailors from Bordeaux coasted in the waters to the south, but all of them recognized the Saint Malo regulations.

Despite Nicolas Gorgot, an energetic governor, the English obtained a foothold on the eastern shore of Newfoundland, but this did not prevent seven hundred French colonists from remaining masters of the territory and strewing French names all over the island, of which the most charming are Plaisance and Petit Paradis. It was against Lemoyne, victorious master of the British forts he had subdued, that the Treaty of Ryswick gave its unfair verdict depriving him of his conquests, but not of the fishing rights which still exist. Having lost their territory, the Acadians of the Ile Royale went to St. Pierre and Miquelon which France had obtained in exchange. France definitely established herself there in 1820, and her flags have been flying on these islands ever since.

In the Caribbean Sea, the Spaniards had held sway since the time of Christopher Columbus. By 1650 our buccaneers began to penetrate there, landing on the "isles of Peru" of which the Spaniards and Portuguese considered themselves indisputable lords.

The first corsair with a permit issued by the French Admiralty pushed forward beyond the Tropic of Cancer and the First Meridian of the Azores. He was Esnambuc, the founder of St. Christopher, where he became the first agent of the great Cardinal's companies. He occupied St. Christopher and Barbados with six hundred men. Soon Martinique fell under his blows; thither he brought a thousand colonists. The conquest of Guadeloupe was achieved by Liénard de l'Olive and Jean du Plessis d'Ossonville; in 1640, Tortola, Marie Galante, Grenada and Tobago were also occupied. The corsairs preceded the King's Lieutenant and established five thousand colonists on these islands.

The *Compagnie des Iles d'Amérique* clashed with the King's Lieutenant and after an embittered struggle, went into liquidation. In this process they sold the islands to the Order of Malta and private individuals. Louvillier de Poincy, Governor of St. Christopher until 1660, administered what remained of French possessions. The situation was difficult: there was no man-power, as the Caribbean Indians had escaped to San Domingo and St. Vincent.

Now came the era of the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, and, despite its blunders, our colonies developed and extended. The buccaneers continued their industry, hunting and drying. Bertrand d'Ogeron, their chief, became Governor of St. Christopher after adventures worthy of Dumas. He had won a foothold in Guiana, but, driven out by the Spaniards, was shipwrecked. His new masters deported him to Porto Rico where his freebooter comrades had died. With two companions he escaped in a rowboat; he lost his oars, made a sail of his shirt and landed on Santo Domingo. Determined to get his revenge, he seized a Spanish ship by night, gathered together some freebooters on the coast and set Porto Rico afire.

Fifteen years later, when he died, he left a colony of eighty leagues and four thousand inhabitants who reaped two million

pounds of tobacco every year. All the adventurers he found on his path enlisted in his service. They made a clean sweep of the Spanish galleons laden with gold and spices and brought them to France amidst all sorts of adventures.

An embittered struggle broke out between St. Christopher and the neighboring islands. Allied to the Dutch, the French were constantly exposed to British attacks; but suddenly Charles II of England, subsidized by Louis XIV, changed camps and joined us. This struggle for colonies lasted nearly one hundred years. Ruyter, whom Duquesne later defeated in the Mediterranean, attacked Martinique. The cause of this struggle is clear: the growing prosperity of the Antilles whetted all appetites. By the end of the seventeenth century French West Indian colonies had twenty thousand settlers and seventy thousand Negroes worked on French plantations. Trade with the mother country attained the sum of twenty-five million francs, equivalent to a little over one billion francs, today. A merchant marine of hundreds of ships provided the colony with victuals, while sugar poured into France, which re-exported half the production of her overseas possessions to the rest of the world. This rich settlement did not prevent French explorers from continuing to sail southward and to the Pacific, to the Falklands, the Denycans and Clipperton—these islands were discovered by sailors from St. Malo.

The Treaty of Utrecht deprived France of a part of St. Christopher, which the English had always held, but we remained masters of the islands.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the French Antilles were perhaps the most prosperous colonies in the world. The Windward Islands had a trade ten times larger than Canada. In 1715, Santo Domingo comprised more than 100,000 inhabitants. Indigo, sugar cane, cotton, coffee enriched both

the colony and the metropolis. It was Jussieu who, during a promenade in the Jardin des Plantes with Captain de Clieux, gave him the first coffee shrub planted in Martinique.

By 1750 we were compelled, for the first time, to make a breach in the system of "exclusive rights" in favor of Santo Domingo, the strategic center of the battles fought during the War of the Austrian Succession.

The Seven Years' War cost us Martinique; the Treaty of Paris left us only with a small string of islands surrounding Guadeloupe. During the American war Santo Domingo once again served as the base of the most important naval operations. It was there that De Grasse prepared for Yorktown.

Toward the end of the century the prosperity of the islands was even greater. Their population reached 700,000; they supplied two hundred millions' worth of colonial products, thus they could afford to import one hundred millions' worth of foodstuffs from the mother country. Important local industries had been created with a turnover of one hundred and fifty million francs. The French Revolution was to destroy this magnificent structure.

Amidst the enthusiasm which inspired the would-be liberators of the world, the National Assembly received the deputies whom Paris had designated for our colonies, while Santo Domingo herself elected others. While the decree of 1790, concerning the future of the Antilles, was being framed, they proclaimed their independence; the Constituent Assembly confirmed the monopoly of the flag by the Navigation Acts, but Santo Domingo opened her ports to foreign vessels and proclaimed her own constitution. What made the problem tragic was the fact that the black slave population was infinitely more numerous than the colonists. Santhonnax urged the blacks to revolt against the governor, and the colonists asked the British to help them.

Anticipating the decree of the National Convention, San-

thonmax abolished slavery. Toussaint Louverture, heading a black contingent assisted by French troops, resisted British occupation. Upon his arrival in the Windward Islands General Rochambeau found that order had been restored; nevertheless, the British occupied them, as well as Santo Domingo, in 1794. The commissioners sent by the Convention landed at Guadeloupe with one thousand troops and defeated a British garrison of no less than 6,000 men. Victor Hugues reoccupied our possessions, saved Martinique and Santa Lucia and crushed the counter-revolution there. Toussaint Louverture for his part, drove the British out of Santo Domingo. Under the Consulate the reactionaries gained the upper hand, and in Guadeloupe, Richepanse introduced the white terror.

Amidst these difficulties France lost Santo Domingo. Toussaint Louverture—the former coachman—had occupied the entire Island, including its Spanish part which in 1795 had become French by the Treaty of Basel. He recalled the colonists and concluded a modern trade-agreement with the United States and British Jamaica. While remaining a part of the “French Empire” Santo Domingo became a Negro kingdom. The expedition led by General Leclerc and the restoration of slavery decreed by the First Consul defeated Toussaint Louverture who was deported to France. But in 1802 the Negroes revolted again, and in 1804 Dessalines proclaimed the island’s independence. The colony was eventually reduced to misery and lost to France.

In 1838, after Charles X’s unsuccessful attempts to claim it once more for the French crown, the French government recognized the Republic of Haiti. This is another proof that France renounces her conquests when the population of a territory is justified in asserting its independence.

Martinique and Guadeloupe, on the other hand, wished to remain French, and since that time they have been sending

deputies and senators to the French Parliament, many of whom have attained the highest government posts.

BRAZIL AND SOUTH AMERICA

In 1500, when the Portuguese landed in Brazil, the natives told them that other Europeans, blond ones with blue eyes, had discovered the country before them. These other Europeans were Jean Cousin's men of St. Malo and Dieppe. Around that time Paulmier de Gonneville came from Honfleur aboard the ship "Espoir" which his compass had steered southward, to Rio San Francisco do Sul. He baptized it the Southern Indies. But the Spaniards and Portuguese produced a papal bull granting them domination over the New World; they gave chase to French corsairs, subjecting them to frightful tortures when they captured them. All the efforts made by Francis I to defend our meager conquests were in vain.

This did not discourage Coligny who, a few years later, dreamed of settling the Huguenots overseas. Admiral Villegagnon was sent to Brazil charged with creating a settlement and constructing a post in sight of Rio, now baptized Fort Coligny. The natives supported the Protestants against the Portuguese. Unfortunately, the Admiral's companions began to proselytize and antagonized the tribes that had been ready to support them. Attacked by the Portuguese, deserted by the Admiral because of their internal strife, they were unable to hold out in Fort Coligny which was destroyed: thus "Antarctic France" was soon obliterated. In 1570 Fort Coligny could have been reconquered by Montluc, the son of the Marshal, but he died in the course of his expedition, having waited in vain for the reinforcements Philippe Strozzi was to bring him and which never arrived.

Other expeditions were organized, notably by Jean Ribault

and Laudonnière, who emulated Coligny in Florida. Their enterprise ended in a massacre. The Spaniards who captured them hanged them as heretics.

A last adventurer, Dominique de Gourgues, the most fascinating of them all because of his taste for danger, tried in turn to conquer Florida. He succeeded in gaining a foothold. By raiding Spanish merchant ships he avenged the remains of Jean Ribault and Laudonnière. But, tired of waiting for the reinforcements the King had promised and never sent, he returned to France. His declarations that there was not "another place in the whole world that was richer, vaster and easier to conquer" were in vain; a deaf ear was turned to his recommendations.

The French, however, had acquired a taste for the southern continent, and numerous Basques settled in that part of it which was to become the Republic of Argentina. Their moral influence was considerable. Many inhabitants of La Plata came to France. Montesquieu's writings enraptured them all. Later Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Auguste Comte extended their moral influence to Brazil, indirectly, through their philosophy.

In 1598 Raleigh published his book on Guiana in London. In it he described the "epic of the last of the Incas" fleeing from Pizarro with "his golden tables . . . as large as giants." These magnificent dreams concealed an unhealthy country inhabited by Indians engaged in agriculture and cattle raising of a rather primitive kind.

Despite the hopes of our conquistadores we did not go directly to Guiana. Henry IV appointed Daniel de la Rivardiére Royal Lieutenant General in the West Indies and the Territory of Brazil. He explored the coast and the Cayenne River. Razilly occupied Maranhão Island. His expedition was composed of four hundred men who, when surrendering to the Portuguese, said that they gave up an "earthly paradise."

This series of misadventures so impressed Sully that, alone in his time, he energetically opposed new colonial expeditions.

Richelieu, the restorer of the French navy, harbored great plans with regard to Guiana. Under his protection, Chantail, from Lyons, left to explore Cayenne. He was only the first; numerous Norman shipowners followed in his tracks. Pierre de Brétigny settled there, only to perish under the blows of the Indians. Later, forerunners of Law developed fantastic financial plans, promising mines with fabulous quantities of gold, and even found backers whom they brought to ruin. They had not considered the climate which was to take thousands of victims.

After the Fronde, Fouquet, arming his ships in order to secure sea-power, organized a Company for the exploitation of equatorial France; but in the meantime the Dutch seized Cayenne. Colbert, who fought them across the oceans, prevailed upon the King to subscribe to shares of the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, and under the provisions of the Black Code organized the first convoys of man-power from Senegal to Guiana.

But the Dutch had not said their last word and in 1700 established themselves again in Guiana. The French were caught between two fires, the Portuguese and the Dutch. But France had prospected immense territories extending north of the Amazon. Her efforts were compromised by the many weaknesses of our colonization at that time. The British and Dutch had 50,000 planters in Guiana, while we had been unable to settle more than 5,000.

The Treaty of Utrecht deprived France of most of her possessions. Nevertheless, a frontier was traced, which was contested by the Portuguese; the conflict lasted until the creation of Brazil, with which we reached an agreement. We occupied only Cayenne Island, which depended on the Windward Islands. But we pushed into the interior in quest of the undis-

coverable Eldorado. La Haye and later La Condamine reclaimed the land for cultivation; the latter went up the Amazon River. We settled only twelve hundred whites and a few thousand Negroes in this region. In 1716 the coffee-shrub was introduced in Guiana and provided the colony with resources. After the loss of Acadia, under Choiseul, France sent eight thousand settlers there, but they could not adapt themselves to the climate. Successive epidemics decimated them; yet they did not give up the struggle and made attempts to raise cattle. Malouet copied the Dutch system of drainage; in 1793, Poivre inaugurated the cultivation of spice plants. A company created under Louis XVI obtained the monopoly of the gum trade and the Senegal slave traffic, which procured manpower for Guiana. The slave traffic was tolerated until 1830. Under the Restoration, the French freed the colony from a short Portuguese occupation. Catineau Laroche, inspired by Baron Portal, tried to acclimatize French farmers there, but without success. The emancipation of the Negroes in 1848 ruined the colony.

The Second Empire was responsible for the unfortunate idea of replacing the slaves by convicts.

Today, new settlers have revived the chief industry developed in the beginning, that is to say, cattle raising; the exportation of sugar came to an end in 1888. But Guiana's mining riches are still unexploited and the island offers a vast field of action for scientists. Dr. Crevaux, in 1877, and Henri Cou-dreau, in 1889, made interesting studies in this respect. Unfortunately, the discovery of gold mines coincided with the settlement of the dispute with Brazil, to which the mines were adjudged.

At present Guiana has a population of fifty thousand Europeans. It is represented in the French Parliament by one deputy. Once the jungle is drained it will be possible to develop large gold fields and bring real prosperity to Guiana.

THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST

THE first conquests bore names which did homage to our kings: Ile Dauphine, Ile Bourbon, Ile de France; Madagascar and the Mascarenes, those pearls of the Indian Ocean, were baptized by Augustin de Beaulieu.

In the seventeenth century all eyes were fixed on the route to India, which passed around the Cape of Good Hope, discovered by the Portuguese. As we have mentioned above, the first big port of call of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, founded by Colbert with an enticing prospectus drafted by Charpentier, of the French Academy, and with the King himself as president, was to be Madagascar. As early as 1620, Augustin de Beaulieu steered for the Mascarenes and put into port at the Bay of Saint Augustine. His arrival was saluted "by the sound of trumpets and drums." Eighteen years later another ship owner from Dieppe steered southward casting anchor at the approaches of the *Grande Mascareigne*.

Richelieu created the *Compagnie du Cap Vert* for the exploitation of Senegal and Gambia and the *Compagnie de Saint-Malo*, which coasted between Gambia and Sierra Leone. The *Compagnie Normande* had its privilege renewed by Mazarin. Before this, the *Compagnie d'Orient* had extended its activity to the southern seas. Jacques Pronis, a Protestant

who had fled from La Rochelle, had built Fort Dauphin, occupied Ile Sainte Marie and got rid of the rebels in his colony by deporting them to Madagascar. In 1648 Etienne de Flacourt landed at Fort Dauphin to take command, and waited in vain for help and news; during two years all was silence around him. Deserted by the king, he founded a warehouse at Matitanana and occupied one of the Mascarenes which he named l'Ile Bourbon.

In 1654 Duc de la Meilleraye, grand master of artillery, finally arrived with his ships. He had been sent by Surintendant Fouquet to investigate the situation and found a permanent settlement. Etienne de Flacourt, deserted as he was, did not even know whether the *Compagnie des Indes* had obtained the extension of its privilege. He was indignant upon learning that the Duke brought him only the order to return to France where he would get further instructions from the Company.

After a short stop at Fort Dauphin, de la Meilleraye's ships sailed toward the Indian Ocean. Only one ship returned from this little squadron, and she was wrecked later.

The Duke had planned to seize Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, and from there to explore India, Persia and China. The arrest of Fouquet at Nancy suddenly interrupted the execution of this vast project. It was taken up again by Colbert who dreamed of ruining and replacing the Dutch.

In Charpentier's prospectus Madagascar became Ile Dauphine. The king subscribed three millions and compelled courts, cities and nobles to subscribe to the fifteen thousand shares of one thousand livres each, which formed the Company's capital. The statutes were drafted under Colbert's supervision. In them he formulated a great principle which was later adopted by the Constituent Assembly: "No distinction will be made between the French and the natives."

Thus the foundations of modern colonization were laid. The

desire to push assimilation to the point of granting titles of nobility to natives may seem surprising. What was even more serious was that the younger sons who engaged in trade with the colonies did not thereby lose their prerogatives as nobles; on the contrary, they were to win new honors and titles from their expeditions, and commoners were promised letters of nobility for their participation.

Colbert also wanted the expedition to include large numbers of artisans: carpenters, masons, cloth manufacturers and shoemakers. The workers of France were—for the first time—to find in their bags patents of Mastership, freed from all obligations to the corporations; five years served with the Company entitled them to exercise their rights in any French city. This was the principle of colonial artisanship which germinated in Colbert's brain three centuries before it was applied by the Republic in all its overseas possessions.

Marquis de Montdevergue, a Provençal nobleman, led the first expedition to Fort Dauphin. It cruised for a year before casting anchor. Unfortunately the Company conducted its business badly from the beginning and in 1669 was compelled to sell Madagascar to the King, reserving only a port of call at Ile Maurice. One year later, a squadron pushed on as far as Surat.

The Marquis' successor was equally unlucky. By his bad administration he provoked an uprising of the natives and after the departure of La Haye the situation worsened, so much so that in 1674 the settlers were massacred.

Under the Regency, the monopoly of trade in the island was once again granted to the *Compagnie des Indes*. Madagascar became the prey of adventurers. Forty years later, a Hungarian nobleman who had served in Russia, a certain Benyonski, ended by convincing Bourgeois de Boyne, Minister of the Navy, that he would succeed where others had failed. With a few hundred settlers he disembarked and in-

stalled himself at Madagascar and the Mascarenes. After two years he had committed such acts of extortion that the Cabinet recalled him; returning to France, he was threatened with an investigation by Sartine, so he fled to Philadelphia, where he offered the island to Franklin. France thus got rid of him, but, although several governors and some thousands of new settlers were sent to Madagascar, the monarchy was unable to develop the crops and the trade which, under the Third Republic, were to make it one of the most prosperous of French colonies. Such was the sad story of Madagascar for more than a century.

Grande Mascareigne (later Ile Bourbon) had served as a refuge for Governor de la Haye, who had been unable to hold out at Fort Dauphin. This island vegetated under the tutelage of the *Compagnie des Indes* until the end of Louis XIV's reign.

Ile Maurice, discovered by the Portuguese in 1512 and baptized by the Dutch with the Prince of Nassau's first name, was an island without vegetation, with basalt mountains and several extinct volcanoes. Finding the moorings favorable, a captain from Saint-Malo planted the fleur-de-lis there in 1721. Port-Bourbon and Port-Louis sheltered our crews in winter. In the beginning the island had only twelve settlers and a chaplain. The company sold them slaves and granted them concessions. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, appointed governor in 1735, at first made the island a naval base; but to provide for the material existence of its inhabitants he decided to plant manioc, sugar cane, cotton and indigo. The basaltic soil proved very favorable to sugar cane, which for a hundred years was the only wealth of the island. Intendant Pierre Poivre introduced all the spices: cinnamon, nutmeg, vanilla, etc., and finally the coffee-shrub which developed here better than in the Antilles.

In 1786 Ile Bourbon alone had 45,000 inhabitants. The Seychelles Islands and Sainte Marie, occupied twenty years before, had been a part of the colony since 1767.

The Revolution did not change anything here; slavery was not abolished by the King's Governor who maintained himself until the Consulate. The commissioners of the Convention disembarked, but the colony refused them access to the island and directed them toward the Philippines. The only reform introduced by the Patriots was purely nominal: Bourbon became Réunion, in memory of their political deliberations.

In the beginning, Ile de France and Réunion had nothing to fear from the British. The Royal Garrison had gone, but the settlers armed the inhabitants and built a little fleet which cruised freely as far as the Bay of Bengal. General Decaen, sent to India by Bonaparte, transformed these possessions into military bases. Having failed in India, deserted by the mother country, he waged war on the British for seven years, without having been ordered to do so. In the end the British attacked in force and seized Bourbon (which in the meantime had become Ile Bonaparte), Rodriguez, Seychelles and our base at Tamatave, founded by Decaen. The Treaty of Paris restored us all the Mascarenes except Ile Maurice. Réunion, an old French colony, is still living on its production of sugar and enjoys the status of all the old colonies. It sends a senator and two deputies to the French Parliament; all its inhabitants are voters. A great French poet, Leconte de Lisle, and many ministers of the Republic were born there.

INDIA

As early as the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese explored all parts of the Indian Ocean. By the end of the sixteenth century a Frenchman from Provence, Pierre de Mon-

dragon, emerged in the Mozambique Canal; but it was Anglo and his Normans, indefatigable navigators, who first set their hearts upon India. They disembarked at random in this unknown territory, entranced by its fantastic flora and fauna, but were immediately assaulted and captured by natives in the service of the Sultan of Delhi. This unfortunate incursion had no results; the position of the Portuguese, who had concluded alliances with the Hindu rulers, remained uncontested.

Henry IV, moved by the stories he had heard, wanted to take advantage of the union of Spain and Portugal, who were now busy in America, to attack the trade of the United Provinces; he equipped two ships to discover this new continent; one of them was wrecked, and the other was captured by the Dutch. Discouraged by this adventure, the King accepted a proposal made by the Dutch themselves, who were willing to create a *Compagnie Française des Indes*, to which they would assure a certain field of exploitation, and whose seat was to be in Brest. While all this was in progress Ravailac killed the King.

After his death, other Frenchmen took the road to Persia in the hope of trading there and pushing to the Indian Ocean, where Louis XIII, it is said, wanted to build a port. Several accounts were published under his reign and the narrative of his emissaries' voyage is in the archives as part of Colbert's library. In Colbert's mind, Madagascar was supposed to be a port of call on the route to the regions colonized by the Dutch. The *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* would use it only as a base for trading in the kingdom of spices. Caron, one of the first directors of the Company, was himself a Dutchman who had had experience in these regions. He sailed to Surat and in 1668 created a warehouse there. But Caron's first expedition ended in failure; the Company was unable to establish itself firmly on the spot where all the wealth of the Grand Mogul was gathered.

Admiral de la Haye had submitted other plans, aiming at establishing the French in Malaya. Caron's failure had given him food for thought, and we must emphasize the systematic struggle waged by the Company from that time on against the views of these bold military leaders whose successes were to be always thwarted by the holders of the monopoly for mercantile reasons. Caron had trafficked in these regions, on behalf of his own fellow-countrymen; he had made contacts and was subjected to influences of which we were soon to feel the effect. The part he played in the Allicote affair is extremely suspicious. During the first stages of the expedition the Dutch forces ran the risk of destruction; as a result of Caron's intrigues no engagement took place, but, despite his opposition, Admiral de la Haye did not throw up the sponge. He established himself at Ceylon and obtained the Trinquemale base from the King of Candy. These were the famous agreements initialed on latania leaves. The danger was growing greater for Holland, but her Navy did not consider itself defeated. It raided our supply ships, cut our communications with the mother country and, despite our establishment in San Thome, in two years triumphed over the stubborn de la Haye by attacking him constantly with overwhelming forces. After his first defeat, the Admiral took refuge in Masulipatam; but there again he succumbed to superior numbers. It must be said that Caron surreptitiously opposed the realization of his plans, and his collusion with the Dutch was becoming apparent. La Haye obtained his recall, but too late. With San Thome fallen in 1674 and Masulipatam abandoned a year earlier, only the post of Surat remained in our hands after all this long and hard campaign.

Then the Company went through a long period of eclipse. Ten years later, six years after the Peace of Nimwegen, it resumed the India route, and this time with real success. Meanwhile Colbert had died, but his protégé, François Baron, for-

dragon, emerged in the Mozambique Canal; but it was Angelo and his Normans, indefatigable navigators, who first set their hearts upon India. They disembarked at random in this unknown territory, entranced by its fantastic flora and fauna, but were immediately assaulted and captured by natives in the service of the Sultan of Delhi. This unfortunate incursion had no results; the position of the Portuguese, who had concluded alliances with the Hindu rulers, remained uncontested.

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mer consul at Aleppo, and François Martin, the Company's trusted agent, who directed the Surat warehouse, remained on the spot and, although the forces at our disposal were weak, these two men consolidated our establishments on the Coromandel coast.

François Martin had served his apprenticeship under de la Haye, during the siege of San Thome; he had also spent some time at Masulipatam before the surrender of this post. Sent to Pondichéry by the admiral before the latter's departure, he had concluded agreements with the Hindus, which considerably extended the zone under our jurisdiction. He had been in the Company's service less than ten years when the territory of Pondichéry was doubled. A considerable trade by sea was established between Pondichéry and Siam.

He was at Surat when he received the warrant appointing him director of the Company. At the same time he learned of the death of his protector who had put all his confidence in this illegitimate son of a Paris merchant connected for a long time with the Colberts, cloth merchants at Reims.

Seignelay who, after his father's death, became "Perpetual Chief, President and His Majesty's Director of the *Compagnie des Indes*," gave it back all its privileges which Louvois in his hatred for the memory of Colbert had wished to abolish. Louvois went so far in his protectionist policies that he forbade the importation of calico cloth into France. But despite these difficulties, François Martin pursued his course. He accepted the post of director on the coast of Coromandel in Bengal and Siam.

Upon his return to Pondichéry he first concerned himself with arming our defenses which had remained—and were to remain—precarious. Flanked by Masulipatam in the south, Pondichéry was put in a position to withstand a siege. This town was to serve as a trade center for Indian white cloth and Malabar pepper. François Martin's measures were long over-

THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST

due: for now the war with Holland broke out again. From 1689 to 1692 he waited in vain for the French Navy to help him. After three years he capitulated, and the effects of this defeat were felt even at Surat. But Martin did not lose courage; he reached the Bengal coast and for a time the important post of Chandernagor took the place of lost Pondichéry.

Balasore and Ougly were quickly developed. The Treaty of Ryswick gave us back Pondichéry. Having regained possession of all his warehouses, François Martin created a small state, raised taxes and surrounded himself with a Superior Council. In 1706, at the moment of his death, he could be proud of his forty years of activity, for, thanks to him, France had preserved and enlarged a solid settlement in India.

After his death the Company lost its vigor. In 1719 it was taken over by Law, master of the new *Compagnie des Indes*. This was really the time for action. Grand Mogul Aurungzeb had just disappeared from the scene leaving chaos behind him; the Kingdom of Golconda had been overthrown; the native princes were devouring one another. In this disorder the Europeans had a thousand opportunities to extend their possessions. We were not the only ones who wanted to grab this inheritance: competition was keen among French, Portuguese, Dutch and British. The Dutch were the most solidly rooted, with their principal establishment at Batavia. The British had not actually gained a foothold anywhere, but it was they who in the end drove us out of India, despite the continuous effort of four Frenchmen: Lenoir, Benoit-Dumas, Dupleix and Mahé de la Bourdonnais.

Dupleix was twenty-five years old when he came to India; his father was Farmer-General of Tobacco for the East. In 1721, thanks to his family's influence and despite his youth, Dupleix was appointed First Councillor at Pondichéry; but he realized that this high post was not justified either by his age or experience and renounced it to serve in a secondary capac-

ity. In a short time he proved his mettle and became Director of Bengal.

Through its agents at Cadiz, the Company collected all the silver exported from America and sent it off to the coasts of Bengal where French representatives bought the chief products of India, spices and fabrics. It could thus re-export two-thirds of its purchases and reap considerable profits. Lenoir, appointed Governor of Pondichéry at the beginning of the eighteenth century, directed the colony's trade toward Mahé and Calcutta, centers of the pepper trade. Dupleix, in Chandernagor, had made this city an independent and important warehouse. Benoit-Dumas consolidated the work of his predecessor, Lenoir, by political agreements. He aimed at peaceful conquest and concluded a treaty with the Nabob of Arcate, for the minting of silver.

The company was the target of attacks on the part of natives from Mocha. Former governors would have tried to avoid taking action, but Benoit-Dumas wanted to strike an important blow; he sent a fleet out which brought the belligerents to their senses. He thus raised France's prestige and took advantage of it to found a new warehouse at Karikal in order to obtain rice. Then he extended his diplomatic activity. He offered asylum to the Prince of Karnatak, who in 1740 had been driven out of his kingdom by the Mahrattas. The result of this move was immediate: several Indian princes asked for our protection.

Dupleix who one year later succeeded Benoit-Dumas knew how to exploit this situation. In 1744, soon after La Bourdonnais' fleet had been recalled, war broke out with England. The British Royal Navy took advantage of this to seize the company's ships. Dupleix multiplied his calls for help; finally La Bourdonnais received reinforcements for the defense of Pondichéry. At this point a struggle began between the two men, which was to decide the fate of India.

In the beginning La Bourdonnais, in order to check Dupleix' influence, seized Madras against his orders. Once Madras was taken Dupleix, governor of our establishments in India, forbade La Bourdonnais to restore it; but the latter disregarded this order, signed an agreement with the British government and returned to Ile de France. According to Dupleix—but is the proof supplied in his trial conclusive?—the British paid him a million pounds (100,000 pagodas) for this act of treason. "La Bourdonnais will go far or sink into nothingness," Dupleix had written to Dunlaer.

Dupleix did not hesitate; his course was clear. He reoccupied Madras and remained there for three years. The Nabob of Arcate who had joined with the British was crushed by our troops. Dupleix took advantage of this victory to seize Gondelour, south of Pondichéry. But the British stormed the place and decided to lay siege to Pondichéry. Dupleix, who was about to return Madras to the Nabob in order to win him over as an ally, saw his projects frustrated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Cabinet of London triumphed and obtained the restoration of Madras. But although the peace had been signed, Dupleix kept his soldiers and dreamed of an Indian Empire. Without assistance from the Company, disapproved by his superiors, he concluded a number of agreements with the princes desirous of waging war against the common enemy. It is true that this war of influence was initiated by the British governor, who supported the King of Tangore against us. Devicotta was the price paid for it. But Dupleix did not consider himself defeated. New negotiations were engaged with the Pretender to the throne of Karnatak; Dupleix supported his claims in exchange for Villenour; Masulipatam was the second jewel offered Dupleix as the price of his intervention.

The Nabob of Deccan raised an army against us in order to recapture Karnatak. He died on the battlefield and Dupleix

imposed his own candidate as the Nabob's successor, under a protectorate which lasted for seven years. Meanwhile the war extended along the coast, and we lost Trichinopoly. As a result of this our establishments were in dire peril, and Dupleix, disavowed and recalled by the Company, turned a deaf ear to authority and secretly secured the defection of England's most solid allies, the Mysore and the Mahrattas. The situation was now reversed.

Our successes in Deccan brought us immense prestige, but the Company cut off Dupleix' supplies and he was compelled to ask his allies for the sums he needed to maintain his army, and these allies began to show impatience.

Our troops were commanded by M. de Bussy, appointed by Dupleix, and in this unequal struggle he successively displayed the qualities of leader, diplomat and statesman. No one surpassed him in winning the confidence of certain Indian princes. Thanks to Bussy, the Nabob of Hyderabad ascended the throne. Simultaneously Dupleix extended his influence over all the princelings who governed this important region. Thus, at the very time Dupleix suffered one setback after another along the coast, all central India submitted to his rule.

Order was restored, but the weakness of the means at Dupleix' disposal made this vast empire precarious. Bussy advised him to be cautious, but this megalomaniac genius would not be stopped. He still hoped to seize Bengal. Master of two hundred kilometres of coastline he wanted to establish himself on the shores of Burma and to gain a foothold in Cochin-China and Tongking. Had he had troops, money, a reasonably supplied fleet, this great conqueror would have laid the foundations of a South Asiatic empire. The Company which supported him at long intervals, particularly when his successes were brilliant, was determined to drop him at the least setback. He was thus reduced, having only local resources for support, to mint the silver of the administrations which had

been confided to him. During this period the chancelleries negotiated behind his back. The Company, frightened by the debt he had contracted with the princes, was an accomplice in these negotiations. Sordid interests connected with those of a Cabinet whose policy was to yield everywhere, easily got the better of Dupleix' and Bussy's magnificent achievement.

Harassed by the Ministers, the Company sent Governor Godeheu to India; his mission was to break Dupleix' back. Godeheu did not dare attack Bussy, solidly installed in Deccan, but he compelled Dupleix to return to France. At that moment, the Company owed him three million *livres* and four million to Indian princes. In France, Dupleix did not condescend to defend himself. A part of the sums he had advanced were refunded him by the King's Treasury, which instituted legal proceedings against him that led to his death. He passed away stoically and silently, in 1763, having written the finest page in the history of Louis XV's reign. His passing coincided with the French downfall. The Seven Years' War compelled France to defend all her positions at once. The bankruptcy of the monarchy, which already foreshadowed the revolution, and the cowardliness of the King's ministers left the colonies unprotected and France lost all her possessions in the disaster of 1763.

We still had ten thousand soldiers, covered with glory, in India. To reduce them, England had to send considerable reinforcements. A French contingent commanded by Lally Tollandal arrived too late: it took Tollandal a year to make the trip. The province of Bengal had been lost. In 1757 we abandoned Calcutta, Ougly, Chandernagor. The British placed one of our worst enemies on the throne of Bengal. Lally Tollandal withdrew to the interior and retreated toward Delhi; after four years of an unequal struggle we lost northern India.

Bussy alone held out in Deccan. The Grand Mogul offered us his alliance; the Company refused it. This was the last

stroke. In 1756 an effort was made to force Bussy to withdraw. He had not lost a single battle nor one inch of territory; he was compelled to give up an immense territory without a fight. Bussy did not consider himself beaten and still succeeded in capturing all the British warehouses of the Orissa coast. We had lost Bengal but the situation was still far from desperate.

But Lally Tollandal was without money and without a fleet. He recalled Bussy and set out against Madras. At that moment the two Frenchmen hoped to restore the situation; but the British fleet appeared, retreat was necessary and our cause was definitely compromised.

The British occupied Masulipatam. We evacuated Deccan without firing a shot. Karnatak could have held out if the King's Cabinet had sent some reinforcements. The French fleet arrived only to be sunk by the British who had occupied all the bases. French troops were left without weapons and supplies. Pondichéry fell, too. Lally Tollandal returned to France where he was sentenced to death. Voltaire succeeded in rehabilitating him before he himself breathed his last. He said that this rehabilitation was his supreme consolation. Lally Tollandal was not defeated by the British, but by Versailles and its clique.

The Treaty of 1763 returned to France her possessions of 1749 and forbade her to fortify Chandernagor. Lauriston tried to restore prosperity in Pondichéry. He realized that with England as the master of India only one opportunity was open to France: to expand in Tongking, in Annam, even in Borneo or Manila. In this he was a prophet.

The Company was ruined, its monopoly was suspended and it went into liquidation. The King took over our last settlements in India.

In 1778 our meagre posts were lost again, but with the help of the Indian princes the government of Louis XVI decided to

make an effort. Suffren and Bussy were commissioned to command an expeditionary force. But sickness retained Bussy for a long time in Ile de France. Finally, in 1782, Suffren arrived and seized Ceylon. But the peace had already been signed and France only regained her old possessions. Bussy died after having fortified Pondichéry.

The *Compagnie des Indes* was definitely dispossessed of its last privileges in 1793. Pondichéry elected three deputies to the Constituent Assembly and created a Colonial Assembly.

In 1793 the British again captured the city and also took Mysore. They destroyed the Mysore empire and the power of the Mahrattas, France's last allies.

General Decaen was appointed governor of French warehouses. Napoleon gave him the task of driving the British out of the peninsula. The Spanish war soon put an end to these magnificent projects, and then came Waterloo.

The Restoration obtained the restitution of French warehouses, such as they had been in 1792; booths and secondary warehouses were from now on administered by the British. The French Empire of India was a thing of the past.

INDIA UNDER THE TERROR

Count de Conway, Governor of Pondichéry and former adversary of Washington, was replaced on the eve of the Revolution of 1789, and Colonel de Fresne took his place while he went to occupy a new post on the Islands. The Revolution was in full swing when he installed himself, and as early as February, 1790, French India proceeded to nominate its delegates; the general assembly of the citizens designated three deputies to the Constituent Assembly; then it transformed itself into a Colonial Assembly of Representatives with twenty members.

In Bengal, the popular exuberance was such that the sans-

culottes decided to break with Pondichéry which was regarded as a den of aristocrats, and left Bengal to take refuge in Calcutta. The new Governor General sent emissaries to Chandernagor in order to calm all this excitement. They were refused admission and Blouet took power. The revolutionaries were all the more excited because the British government which refused to recognize Blouet continued to deliver opium to Pondichéry, for which Chandernagor drew one hundred thousand rupees each year.

In the end, Cossigny succeeded in getting Gauthier, his new representative, accepted in Chandernagor, on condition that he would grant a complete acquittal for all the acts committed by the Revolutionary Committee whose most important decisions consisted in granting each of its members an extremely high salary. The commissioners of the Legislative Assembly forbade Gauthier access to Bengal and the Committee remained alone in power. In fact all this was a matter of revenues; it must be recognized that not a drop of blood was shed. The Assembly of Pondichéry, although extremely turbulent, did not even interfere with religion. Nevertheless, several priests sought refuge in Madras. Only one crime, a purely moral one, was committed: the ashes of Bussy were dispersed.

The abolition of the privileges of the *Compagnie des Indes* brought about its dissolution; it was accused by the Revolution of having lent money to the king.

In 1793 war again broke out with England. With a garrison of five hundred men Pondichéry was not in a position to withstand a siege by an army of twenty-five thousand commanded by Lord Cornwallis. On August 22nd, the city capitulated.

For some time French officers who had escaped from Pondichéry enlisted, in Deccan or in Mysore, in the armies of the Nabobs who fought England. One of the most adventurous among them, Zéphir, alias Babel, at one time raised an army

of fifteen thousand men commanded by Raymond, a former aide of Bussy.

Colonel Gentil waged war in Bengal; Madec and Chevalier were about to found a big establishment when Madec, having grown wealthy, decided to return to France. Their struggle was sharp and British historians even today do them full justice. Only one shady character stains the record. This was Palbot who seems to have made money out of his men, playing both sides. He, too, returned to France where he died miserably.

Finally two soldiers of great merit must be mentioned: De Boigne and Perron, who put their swords at the service of Mahaday Scindia; this prince, the most powerful of the Maharratta Confederacy, for a long time waged an indirect and bitter struggle against England. De Boigne refused to fight the British directly, but he gained great triumphs against neighboring princes who were their allies. Nor did Scindia attack Lord Cornwallis, but, inspired by De Boigne, struck at his allies and supported his opponents.

De Boigne returned to France, leaving his troops to Perron, in order to marry a writer who, under the name of Madame de Boigne, has left us charming memoirs.

Perron, who had been a worker and was trained by de Boigne, enabled Scindia's successor to pursue his struggle against the Maharajah of Indore and the masters of Delhi until 1803. He was the last of the French adventurers who refused to give up India, although France herself had renounced it; they continued their struggle for ten years and maintained the prestige of French courage in the peninsula.

THE CRUSADES AND EGYPT

THE Crusades were an expression of the French spirit. It was a French Pope, Sylvester II (Gerbert of Aurillac) who was the first to urge men to liberate the Holy Land, a century before the passionate tirades of Peter the Hermit. The French aristocracy, whose escutcheons were raised above those of all the nobility of Europe throughout the Crusades, reached the Holy Land as a vanguard. It must be said that in this enterprise against invading Islam the spirit of adventure dominated the religious spirit—just as the spirit of adventure inspired the sailors of Saint-Malo to push forward toward America and Surat via the Cape of Good Hope.

The First Crusade (1095-1099) was proclaimed by Pope Urban II, also a Frenchman, and Peter the Hermit; this was the Crusade of the Little Man. The Turks easily defeated it. The knights who participated in it seized Antioch, but the long road to Syria was littered with their bones. When they reached Jerusalem, where Godfrey of Bouillon, Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, founded his kingdom, they were only a handful. The Second and Third Crusades failed, the Turks pushed the Christians back to the shores of Syria.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, Foulques, *curé* of Neuilly, inspired by Pope Innocent II, initiated a crusade

which reached Zara and Constantinople, where Baldwin of Flanders donned the crown of a new empire, the Norman empire of Constantinople.

The Children's Crusade, a mystic enterprise, ended in the slaughter of fifty thousand young victims.

The Fifth Crusade came to an end in Egypt; the Sixth again brought the Crusaders to Jerusalem. The Seventh and Eighth led by Saint Louis were destined one for Egypt, and the other for the Holy Land, where Louis IX remained for three years. Then he went to Tunisia where he died on the ruins of Carthage.

The Crusades were a religious epic in the course of which a French nobleman created a kingdom in Jerusalem, established the feudal regime there and founded a dynasty which lasted three generations, until Baldwin III ended this great adventure. After the fall of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan became King of Cyprus, an ephemeral kingdom, as the Counties of Ascalon, Galilee, Edessa and Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch had been under the Baldwins. The honor of having defended these expeditions belongs to the military orders, Saint John's Hospitalers and the Templars.

The Empire of Constantinople was set up on a similar basis. Emperor Baldwin was the Sovereign of a King of Macedonia, a Duke of Nicea, a Marshal of Roumania, a Prince of Achaea, a Duke of Athens, a Sire of Corinth. This ephemeral empire collapsed in 1205, at the death of Baldwin, after which the Greeks took possession of Constantinople where their domination continued for two centuries.

What remains today of this illuminated tale of chivalry? The ruins of the feudal castles one can still see along the Levantine coast—majestic vestiges of an immense expedition of French knights. To the East all Westerners were Franks for many centuries; and the shade of Godfrey of Bouillon still haunts the desert landscapes of Jerusalem.

French relations with the East date from the treaty of friendship between Charlemagne and Haroun-al-Raschid, Caliph of Baghdad. The Caliph granted the Great Emperor custody of the Holy Sepulchre. Our influence there lasted until the thirteenth century, when the Venetians and Genoese succeeded us; but they soon abandoned these markets to follow their luck in the footsteps of the Portuguese around the Cape of Good Hope. French influence in the Near East was resumed after a short eclipse by Jacques Coeur who founded his warehouses in 1432. French kings tried to police the Levantine coasts against their new master, the Grand Turk; but Francis I, aware of the danger to France implicit in the power of the Habsburg Charles, allied himself with Soliman, obtained capitulations from him and a *de facto* protectorate over all the Christians in the eastern Mediterranean.

Henry IV pursued the same policy and obtained the definite custody of the Holy Sepulchre, the extension of the capitulations and the freedom of Turkish waters for the flag of France. The Turkish corsairs were forbidden to attack French ships. At the Holy Sepulchre French missionaries replaced the Italians as guardians. The consuls whose powers had increased, but whose offices were purchasable, abused their position in the course of the seventeenth century. It is to Colbert's credit that he ended these abuses; under him the consuls became civil servants of the monarchy. Unfortunately, Louis XIV abandoned this promising policy and demanded the precedence of our flag in the entire Mediterranean. In his struggle against the Barbary Coast pirates he attacked France's age-long ally; as a result France lost her privileges. Only the Maronites of Lebanon remained faithful to us; they sent ambassadors to Versailles who declared that they were separating themselves from the Turk in order to stand with us.

By the end of the eighteenth century, when Turkish authority declined throughout the Levant our relations with

Constantinople improved. Then came Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, of which more hereafter, its failure, and the negotiations with the Tsar over Syria.

Later it was France, the liberator of nations, which helped Greece to shake off the Turkish yoke; and it was France which, in concert with England, saved Turkey and re-established the Sultan's authority over Syria in 1840. Turkey took advantage of this to massacre the Christians. This massacre marked the end of the expedition of 1860, sanctioned by the Treaty of Paris. Napoleon III threatened to land an expeditionary corps at Beirut. Faced with this threat, the Sublime Porte agreed to the convocation of an international conference and granted autonomy to Lebanon.

To understand the origin of the French intellectual and moral influence in the Near East, which was recognized by the League of Nations in 1919 when it granted a mandate over Syria to France, it must not be forgotten that since the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the consent of Turkey, the ports of the Levant have been filled with French schools, hospitals, asylums, orphanages and welfare institutions. French professors have been teaching their native history in French, a history which for centuries has been connected with the liberation of the Levant. French friars for a hundred and fifty years have been tending the sick, educating orphans and looking after foundlings. The élite of the Near East has attended French schools. More than a hundred thousand pupils of all races and religions frequent these establishments and those of the lay missions. Hundreds of thousands of patients have received treatment in French hospitals. French religious congregations which, since the separation of church and state in France, have been weakly supported by the government, have none the less carried on the heavy task of spreading French culture. Their achievement is immortal.

This culture spread beyond the Bosphorus as far as Con-

stantinople where our colleges and welfare institutions still flourish, supported by the Turkish government. Wilhelm II's military instructors who were commissioned to re-organize the Turkish army had to give their lectures in French at the War Academy of Yildiz and the Military School of Pancaldi. At the Imperial Lyceum of Galata there were numerous French teachers. In Constantinople alone French schools had eight thousand five hundred pupils of all faiths. In Asia Minor their number was seventeen thousand boys and girls; in Smyrna the French position was an important one before the war of 1914-1918. French was considered the official language there and it was used in trade in preference to any other language. The consular and commercial courts rendered their verdicts in French. In matters involving foreign affairs, only French was used.

Jesuit schools and dispensaries spread over the entire territory, in Adana, Amasia and Caesarea they numbered thousands of adherents. The Lazarist College founded in 1828 had three hundred pupils. Twelve hundred French establishments are scattered over Syria and Lebanon with more than forty thousand students. In Beirut, the Medical Faculty is French. There is also a Faculty of Law and an Oriental Faculty run by the Jesuits.

In Palestine French influence is considerably weaker, yet French schools there comprise nine thousand pupils. Today Italy is guardian of the Holy Sepulchre, as a result of the separation of church and state in France.

In the hinterland our centres of intellectual activity are in Urfa, Mosul and Baghdad, where our schools have thirteen thousand pupils entrusted to the Capuchins and Carmelites.

Despite the First World War French influence has not decreased in the Near East. In Constantinople and Smyrna thirty thousand young men attend French schools. The teaching of French is compulsory in Asia Minor. Almost all the banks are

French or Franco-Turkish. In Constantinople, when an Italian film with badly written French sub-titles is shown in a moving-picture theatre, it often arouses the protests of the audience.

Louis Bréhier has declared, not without boldness, that "from the loss of Canada until 1860 Egypt was the finest French colony." In the etymological sense of the word "colony" this is indisputable. Modern Egypt was born of the efforts of our French scientists, engineers and merchants. It was they who, without any official status and rarely defended by their own flag, made it possible for Mehemet Ali to create the Egypt of today.

Since the thirteenth century the Mameluks, the descendants of Circassians and Cherkess tribes, had in fact supplanted the Caliphate. They sent home the pashas appointed by the Sublime Porte when these incurred their displeasure. Oppressing the fellaheen they ruined Alexandria, uncontested queen of the ancient world. The regime of the capitulations enabled France to carry on trade with Egypt on an equal footing with the Turks, and the French were represented by a consul in Cairo, and later in Alexandria.

Since the seventeenth century Frenchmen had dreamed of conquering the land of the pyramids. The German philosopher, Leibnitz, to divert Louis XIV from Holland, tried to push him in this direction, and there is no doubt that the Grand Monarch, when he reversed the policies of Francis I and Henry IV and attacked the Turk, was thinking of this himself. M. de Choiseul left in his files projects relating to Egypt, which were later discovered by Talleyrand. In 1787, following his voyage, Volney wrote: "Through Egypt we will touch India; we will restore the ancient circulation through the Suez, and we will cause the route around the Cape of Good Hope to be deserted." Bonaparte and the Directory hoped to

strike England through Egypt and find in it a compensation for our other lost possessions.

To Bonaparte, Egypt was the route to India; the exploits of Dupleix and Bussy, the weakness of the effectives maintained by Great Britain in the sub-continent suggested a course to him which seemed easy: "Soon we will realize," he wrote to the Directory, "that really to destroy England we must seize Egypt." Talleyrand added that "Bonaparte's expedition, if he reaches Egypt, will lead to the destruction of British power throughout the world."

Having occupied Malta, Bonaparte landed in Alexandria on July 3, 1798. Then came the battle of the Pyramids. The Mameluks were destroyed and Egypt was conquered. But Nelson annihilated the French fleet at Aboukir, and the army of the Republic was cut off from the mother country. Nevertheless, Bonaparte set up a regular government, and in the Year V of the Republic the French army conquered Upper Egypt.

Bonaparte founded the *Institut d'Egypte* and several journals which recorded the discoveries of our scientists. He easily suppressed a revolution in Cairo. Turkey, egged on by England, sent out her armies. Bonaparte hastened to meet them, took Jaffa, but failed before St. Jean d'Acre, pestilence having decimated his troops. He gave up the campaign as lost and, after defeating the Turks in the battle of the Nile, returned to France. The French expeditionary corps maintained the occupation of Egypt for several years. Kléber defeated the Turks at Heliopolis and recaptured Cairo, but just as peace was signed was assassinated by a fanatic. His successor, Menou, a convert to Mohammedanism, in vain awaited reinforcements. The British landed with the Turks and other soldiers of all sorts. They won the battle of Canope and recaptured Cairo. Menou, defeated, placed Egypt in the hands of the Turks. The *Institut d'Egypte* survived and published a monu-

mental work: "The Description of Egypt." The Rosetta Stone revealed to us the secret of the hieroglyphics. Champollion found it in the British Museum, with its triple inscription in Greek, demotic and hieroglyphic. "Science has made Egypt a French land."

Mehemet Ali, a soldier of fortune, garnered this sumptuous inheritance. In 1807 he freed the Egyptians from the British and later from the Mameluks. A few years earlier, in 1805, the defeated Turks had accepted the *fait accompli* and recognized this son of a Macedonian gendarme as the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemet Ali organized Egypt on the pattern of the French Empire. Jumel was summoned by him to set up spinning mills; the first cotton seeds were planted; Frenchmen taught the fellaheen the art of preparing hemp.

Mehemet Ali also took up the projects of the *Institut d'Egypte*, among them, that of the Suez Canal. Champollion began his work from which all Egyptology was born. An army trained by French instructors guarded the new regime; after the defeat of Navarino, a Frenchman was entrusted with building a new Egyptian navy. In 1841 Louis-Philippe supported Mehemet Ali against the Porte; unfortunately, Mehemet Ali died too early, in 1848. His grandson, Abbas, who had resolved to destroy the achievement of his ancestor, was killed five years after he acceded to the throne. His successor, Prince Said, was Mehemet Ali's youngest son and inherited, along with Egypt, his father's policies. His first act was to confer the title of Pasha on Mariette, who, after Champollion's death, had continued the work of the *Institut d'Egypte*, discovered the ancient temples of Serapis despite Abbas' intrigues against him, and founded the Museum of Boulak.

Khedive Ismail, first khedive of Egypt, succeeded Said in 1863 and boldly followed the path traced by his ancestor. The public works planned by his grandfather were begun. French engineers dug a canal from the Nile to Ismailia. Lebon intro-

duced lighting by gas in Cairo and Alexandria. Under Prince Said, Ferdinand de Lesseps, who was at that time vice-consul in Egypt, had taken up again the project of the Saint-Simonists for a Suez Canal and studied the plan drafted by Lepère for Bonaparte. He was promptly granted the concession for the canal and the right to form a financial company to execute the project.

After having elaborated several plans, de Lesseps suddenly obtained an authorization by khedivial firman and, overcoming the hostility of Great Britain which ten years earlier had received a report from its Commissioner Stephenson to the effect that it was impossible to carry out such works, succeeded in lifting the veto of the London Cabinet on the loan of two hundred millions which had to be floated to begin the Canal. In 1863, after the death of Said, the first diggings were begun; the British press immediately organized a campaign against the employment of fellaheen. Napoleon III, who was appointed arbiter in this ticklish affair, decided it in favor of the British government and the canal was handed over to Egypt.

Ferdinand de Lesseps did not lose courage. He renounced the forced labor of the fellaheen, and the needed man-power was replaced by mechanical excavators. The eighty-five kilometres separating Lake Timsah from the Red Sea had to be cleared. The French engineers triumphed over all these obstacles, but the canal had cost five hundred million francs, subscribed almost entirely by French capitalists. Empress Eugénie attended the official opening; she thanked Ismail for having, by his vigilant protection, enabled de Lesseps to overcome all the obstacles placed in his path during the last ten years.

Unfortunately Ismail's handling of his finances led him to bankruptcy and in 1875 the Khedive was compelled to sell the one hundred and seventy-six thousand six hundred and

two shares which belonged to the Egyptian government. He wanted to interest a group of French financiers, at the head of whom was M. Jacques Stern, one of the founders of the Banque de Paris. This group was willing to buy the shares and run the risks of a financial operation which, at that time, was of gigantic proportions, on the sole condition that they obtained the support of the French government. Gambetta, who was in power, lacked courage in this circumstance and refused to give any assistance. The day after this failure, Ismail's emissaries crossed the Channel and addressed themselves to England, which promptly took over the shares belonging to the Egyptian government. Egypt was thus lost to France.

England went one step further: she demanded that Ismail abdicate in behalf of his son Tewfik who, trying to pursue his father's policy, ran into the opposition of the Egyptian nationalist party. This led to the intervention of the great powers.

At the Congress of Berlin, France claimed a privileged position in Egypt, but she tried to do this with England's approval and England prevented her from gaining anything. But four years later, in 1882, the Egyptian situation had deteriorated to such an extent that a British squadron landed at Alexandria, while our wavering Premier M. Freycinet, who was nicknamed "the little white mouse," gave our squadron the order to withdraw. Clemenceau, who systematically opposed all colonial policy, was not satisfied with this withdrawal. To make it permanent he interpellated the government and caused its fall. Meanwhile the British had occupied Cairo. There was trouble in the south but England put off action until 1891 when, despite the opposition of France and Russia but supported by the Triple Alliance, she undertook the Sudan expedition.

It was only seven years later, in September 1898, that Kitchener found the French under Major Marchand occupying

Fashoda, beyond Khartoum. Negotiations were engaged. From a situation made almost hopeless by the weakness of his predecessors Théophile Delcassé succeeded in extracting a durable agreement with England. Egypt was irretrievably lost but Delcassé obtained a free hand in Morocco. The agreements of 1904 established the Entente Cordiale on a solid basis.

French moral influence in Egypt is still considerable. The French Faculty of Law numbers five thousand students. The French Archeological Institute continues the work begun by Champollion and Mariette. Numerous French schools, primary and secondary, still flourish in Alexandria, with twenty-seven thousand pupils. The French press has retained an important place. Despite the British protectorate numerous departments of the government still correspond in French. Finally, France has invested more than a billion dollars in gold in Egypt; the Suez Canal, the *Crédit Foncier Franco-Egyptien*, the *Sucreries d'Egypte*, the *Eaux de Caire* are in French hands. France is still in Egypt.

SECOND FRENCH
COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE PROGRAM OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

"Nothing is more harmful in colonial matters than ready-made principles or clichés prepared in advance."

Galliéni

THE liberators of 1848, inspired by the spirit of the Convention, which Napoleon I and the Bourbon Restoration had cast aside, decreed the immediate and total abolition of slavery. The old colonial system was suppressed. Foreigners were authorized to buy and sell all commodities in the colonies: the Colonial Pact was done away with.

But it was the Third Republic that took up the policy outlined under the Second Empire by Count de Chasseloup-Laubat, Minister of the Navy, in a statement on Cochin-China: "Our aim is not to found a colony in the sense our fathers gave to the term, with settlers from Europe and European institutions, regulations and privileges. No, what must be created is a veritable empire, a kind of suzerainty, with trade accessible to all and tremendous establishments; our whole Christian civilization will spread over these countries, where so many cruel customs are still in existence."

The slave trade, condemned by the Convention, reestablished by Napoleon and then ruled out of the French code by him during the Hundred Days, hung upon the destinies of

the Restoration. At the Congress of Vienna, the French monarchy could not lag behind Great Britain, which had forbidden the slave trade in 1807, and Louis XVIII pledged himself to do likewise five years after the conclusion of peace. Actually, from a desire to improve the economic position of the colonists, the monarchy permitted the traffic to be carried on clandestinely and exposed itself to the accusation that it had returned to the Colonial Pact.

The Restoration showed continued interest in the colonization of Senegal, Guiana and Madagascar, to all of which important subsidies were granted. Portal created the Superior Council for Trade and Colonies, but his efforts, as well as those of Dubouchage and the Duc de Richelieu, were not sustained. The Villèle Cabinet gave up all attempts at a consistent colonial policy; if it had not supported the missions one could almost say that the King's Cabinet let what remained of the French Empire go to pot.

Discredited by his reactionary policies, anxious to save his prestige which crumbled from day to day only to collapse entirely during the "three glorious days" of July 1830, and prompted by his desire to oppose England, Charles X undertook the conquest of Algeria. We shall explain later how hesitant our policy of conquest was before 1840.

In 1838 the government of Louis-Philippe resolved to exploit the advantages gained by his predecessor. Like all the Bourbons, however, he supported our missions in the East and did not permit our religious influence in the Levant to wane. Between 1833 and 1848 the slave trade fell off, but it was only in 1848 that the era of slavery was definitively closed.

The Second Empire followed the example set by the Second Republic; it boldly renounced the Colonial Pact, completed the conquest and organization of Algeria and protected all our Catholic enterprises with French squadrons, as far as the Far East. Napoleon III prepared an expedition to Syria and under-

took one to Mexico which ended in disaster and the execution of his tool, Maximilian. Nevertheless, the door to French exploration in Mexico was thrown open and even today numerous Frenchmen, mostly from the French Alps, occupy high positions in that country, heading prosperous industrial and commercial enterprises.

After pursuing a bold policy which brought us to Algeria, Syria, Mexico, Crimea, Italy and even Egypt, the Second Empire collapsed. The Republic took ten years to consolidate these achievements. It is to Jules Ferry, who was opposed by Clemenceau and unfairly treated by an ill-informed public opinion, that we owe the occupation of Tongking, the expedition to the Sudan and the Lower Congo and the conquest of Tunisia. "To expand without working for a great aim is to abdicate," he declared in the course of a famous debate. Despite tenacious British opposition to our policy of expansion, he supported Bismarck in calling the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Thus he refused to pursue the policy of *revanche*.

Jules Ferry was forced to give up Egypt. Italy opposed him in Tunisia. Resolved to achieve his ends, he did not hesitate to accept German co-operation at the only period in our history when Germany, in order to check England and her Italian ally, supported the French claims. The Congress of Berlin gave birth to the policies of the open door, spheres of influence, freedom of navigation on the Congo and the Niger and notification of the states represented at the Congress of the occupation of new territories.

The Free State of Congo was born in Berlin. This unleashed passionate attacks against Jules Ferry, which were renewed at the time of the Lang-sou incident during the Tongking expedition. These attacks brought about the fall of his Cabinet. But the movement had started and nothing could stop it. Military missions traversed West Africa; France established her protectorate over the Sudan and pushed forward to the mouth

of the Niger; she reached the Congo through Gabun and pushed northwards toward Chad and Algiers.

In 1889 the King of the Belgians called a conference at Brussels in order to clarify the situation in the Congo, which was in financial difficulties as a result of the occupation. Under the pretext of dealing a final blow to the slave trade, Leopold II obtained, notwithstanding the provisions of the Berlin Act, the establishment of customs duties in favor of the Congo. Belgium received the right to annex the Congo State after a period of ten years, and, in return, the Congo received a loan of twenty-five millions from Belgium. This was a violation of the preferential rights the French had been granted at the Congress of Berlin.

French colonial activity under the Third Republic can be divided into three periods. The first may be considered the work of Jules Ferry, and it lasted from 1879 to 1895 (although Ferry fell in 1885, the ten years that followed saw an extension of his activities). In these sixteen years the French conquered Tunisia, Sudan, Guinea, the French Congo, Annam and Tongking; they began the complete occupation of Madagascar and Dahomey, the march to Lake Chad, the organization of Indo-China and the permanent establishment of French positions in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. During this period, which was characterized by illustrious colonizers and soldiers, France did not encounter any international opposition.

The following period, from 1892 to 1905, was marked by the overlapping of our colonial and European policies. France opposed England and enjoyed secret support from Germany which hoped to take advantage of this dissension to pounce on new victims. During these thirteen years, which were troubled by the English occupation of Egypt and the Fashoda incident, ending, thanks to Delcassé's far-sightedness, in the creation of the Entente Cordiale, we extended our possessions

by the Egyptian-Moroccan treaties and established ourselves in Morocco; our conquests developed in Dahomey and Madagascar; we organized the Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Chad. In Asia we completed the Indo-Chinese Union and transformed Tongking and Annam into modern colonies.

The third period, that of peaceful development, began in 1905 and was interrupted by the present war.

These bold adventures which enabled the defeated France of 1870 to build an overseas France with sixty million inhabitants, were pursued amidst enormous political difficulties. At home the opposition, under Clemenceau's aegis, often united the Right and the Workers' International. What a succession of brilliant Cabinets, of which the boldest was that of Jules Ferry to whom we owe Tunisia and Indo-China! Daring men tirelessly pushed forward our expansion. The most intelligent, flexible and tenacious of them was Eugène Etienne, who became Under Secretary of State for Colonies in 1889 and occupied this post for five years without interruption. He founded the Colonial Party so decried at that time. He had the rare good fortune to discover great military leaders who turned out to be great administrators as well. During the second and third periods of colonization the Third Republic produced other leaders who repaired and more than repaired the disasters France had inherited from the monarchy and the Empire.

We have stressed over and over again the fundamental opposition between the methods applied by the Third Republic and those applied by the monarchy, which had cost us Canada, Louisiana and India. Algeria was in a state of rebellion when the Empire fell, because Napoleon III, despite the lessons of the past, continued to exploit the Arabs. The Republic inaugurated the policy of unification of races and peoples, colonies and mother country.

This system of unification was criticized because, side by side with the Governors-General and Residents, it created gov-

ernment and administrative councils composed of officials, settlers and natives to deliberate on native problems. Yet it was this system which laid the foundations of collaboration between France and her colonies and which is expressed in Algeria, Cochin-China, Senegal, Réunion and the Antilles by national representation; in Tunisia, Morocco, French West Africa and Equatorial Africa by local representation. Under this system Syria has achieved autonomy, which tomorrow will be independence. This system is diametrically opposed to the old colonial system which nowhere permitted native representation, and is solidly based on the union of races. This is the great achievement of the Third Republic.

ISLAM

SEVERAL principles have inspired the French policy toward the Moslems. In the first place our great soldiers and modern proconsuls—who were Africans—understood that Islam is one of the most deeply spiritual of mankind's religions. Islamic conceptions cannot shock any spiritualist philosopher; and almost all our great soldiers have been spiritualists.

The second principle is that Islam must be accepted or rejected *in toto*. It is impervious to conversion. All the Moslems—the men, that is—practise their religion and as a result stand together. This is not true of other faiths, in which only a minority of the men practise the ritual, while the majority are indifferent. In Moslem countries everyone observes the five prescribed prayers; the fast of Ramadan is also universally honored. Actually, religious and political rules merge into one another; they are based on the existing order, on morality and hygiene. Ablution, a hygienic law, is obligatory before prayer. One striking example: the duration of the infant's suckling period is set by a law of the Koran.

The judge not merely punishes or absolves; his functions are also religious, he estimates human actions according to revealed rules and classifies them into permissible and non-permissible ones. Jurisprudence is rooted in the sacred books

and derives entirely from the Koran, because Mahomet has decided not only the faith, but also the form of government of the faithful. His successors are the Caliphs; that is why we have respected the Bey of Tunisia and the Sultan of Morocco, who would probably have been dispossessed by other colonizing nations.

France always directs her acts to the faithful themselves, without passing through any clergy—there is no Moslem clergy. The *Imam* who presides over public prayers is himself one of the faithful. The dogma, being the law, cannot be discussed. We have respected the dogma, even in an animistic country like Morocco with its schismatic Marabuts and local superstitions.

It goes without saying that when a Moslem wished to become a French *citizen* we asked him to renounce his right to have four wives (incidentally, the Koran condemns and vilifies celibacy), but the decision is entirely up to him, because his failure to apply for naturalization does not deprive him of any local electoral, fiscal or judiciary right.

As we have said, Islam has to be accepted or rejected *in toto*. The separation of church and state enacted by the Republic enabled France to adopt this attitude of respect without any reservation. We had learned by experience that the Moslems were quite willing to live on good terms with the Europeans (of Soliman and Francis I) and to collaborate with them, for if the Moslem religion is pitiless toward paganism, it is tolerant toward religions which admit the existence of one God, such as Judaism and Christianity, of which Mahomet, who is very explicit on this subject, recognizes the value.

What the Moslem detests is Byzantinism; that is why he fought it fanatically. The Crusaders wanted him to renounce his faith, that is to say, his politics; hence his war against the Infidels. For, according to Mahomet, "the kingdom is of this world." Some have interpreted this fight for existence as a

war of religion, but the Koran (II, 257) says that, "there is no compulsion in religious matters," and (III, 19) that "thou art charged only with predication, God sees his own servants". When its principles are not imperiled—and we have respected them everywhere—Islam is not hostile.

Living under an iron religious and political discipline, the Moslem respects only force. Another example of his willingness to co-operate with a strong regime is that he sends his children to our schools where, it goes without saying, the Koran is one of the subjects in the curriculum.

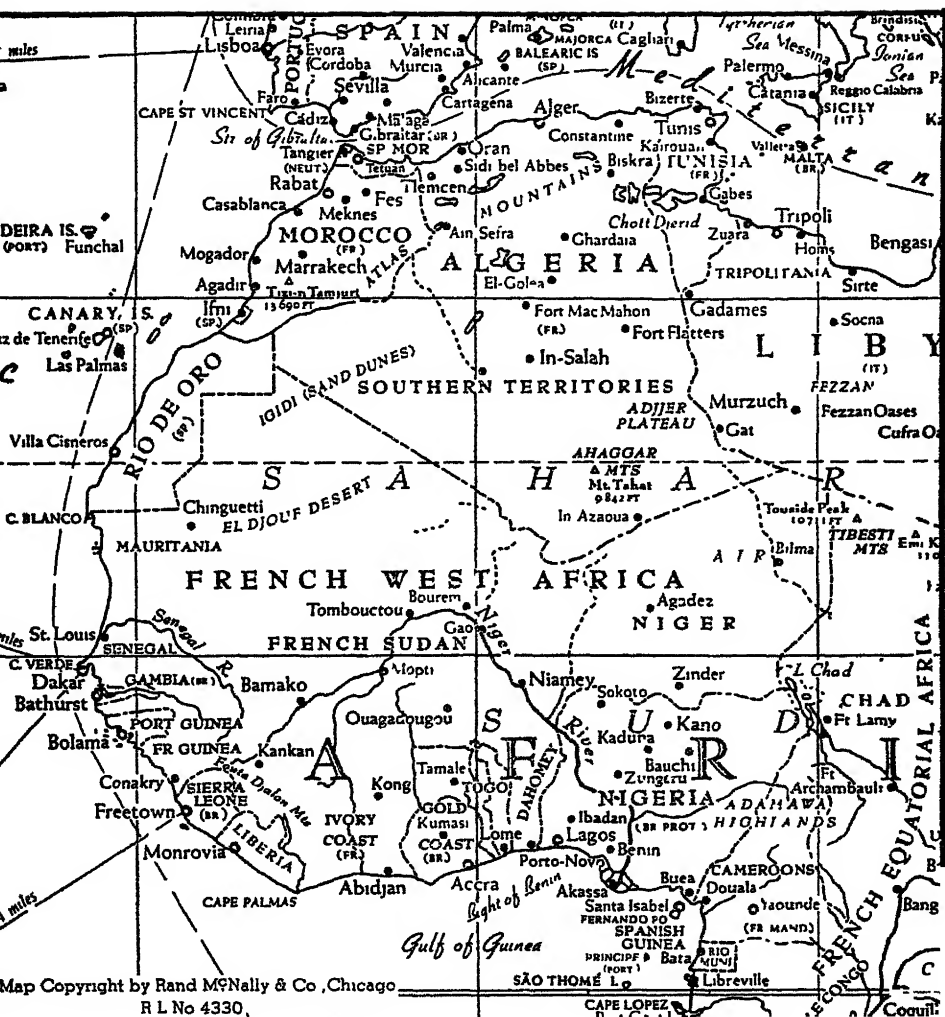
In 1895, when Hyacinthe Loyson advocated a rapprochement between the Moslem and Christian religions in Tunis, the Moslem élite sent him a bombastic missive of thanks, in which a Franco-Moslem alliance was ardently advocated.

Kemal Mohammed ben Mostel-Ben-el-Khodja, professor at the Saffi Mosque in Algiers, published a pamphlet in French and Arabic which was printed in hundreds of thousands of copies. In it he advocated close friendship and affectionate understanding between Moslems and the French. The religious brotherhoods, particularly the Tijama, when they saw that men like Faidherbe, Galliéni, Gouraud and Lyautey respected Moslem traditions and religion in all their reforms, unreservedly offered us their co-operation. The Kadnias, whom we fought in the beginning not because of their beliefs but because of their fanaticism, are today pro-French and are fighting at our side.

It is impossible, of course, to transform a theocracy into a democracy overnight. What we have promised and held to is that all the Moslem institutions that have any justification for existence shall be preserved. We have respected them and made them the bases of our collaboration. The Regency of the Algerian Beys and the Maghzen, or government of the Sultan of Morocco, with their vizierates have not been interfered with. We have developed our administration without trou-

bling the existing social order. We have not interfered with traditions or persons. We have improved the regime, but without violating the Islamic spirit. In this respect the creation of the mixed community is a great and salutary reform.

The Moslem is willing to obey, but he wants to be treated fairly. (This is something which Priestley in his book, so full of hatred for the French Empire, has failed to understand.) He wants us to respect the chiefs of his race and religion. He is not only a devout man, but a superb soldier. Recently he proved his valor once again, during the liberation of Bizerte, Tunis and the holy city of Kairwan. The loyalty he has shown toward us is a pledge of his continued friendship for France. France is a Moslem power.



FRANCE CONTINUES IN AFRICA

ALGERIA

THE Romans colonized North Africa. Today only ancient monuments recall the great empire of Carthage and its struggle with Rome. From time to time the traveler in Algeria sees the remains of great aqueducts or ruined circuses, the last vestiges of two civilizations.

Africa is populated by a white race, the Berbers, who have merged with the Arabs. The invading Turk was never able to conquer these magnificent people nor seize that part of Barbary which faces the Atlantic and is separated from the other part by the Atlas Mountains.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the Venetians and Genoese, and later the Provençals, established footholds in Ceuta, Bougie, Tunis and Mehdia. In the sixteenth century the Spanish seized Melilla, vainly attacked Algiers and, if they had not encountered the Turks, would have conquered Morocco.

We have said before that Saint Louis died in Carthage during the crusade in Tunisia.

Under Louis XI, Marseille sent a merchant fleet to Tunis and Bône. French consuls established themselves in Bougie and Ceuta. But the Turks, assisted by all the corsairs of the Mediterranean, obstructed our commercial relations with the

Berbers. They seized our vessels and carried our settlers off into slavery. In 1830 the monarchy put an end to this piracy.

And yet France, allied to the Great Turk, had long before this obtained fishing privileges, "the concessions of Africa." During the entire reign of Francis I, the Algerian Deys permitted French infiltration into Africa, but as soon as French naval power ceased to be predominant, Berber corsairs again attacked French convoys and reduced nearly three thousand Christians to captivity. Cervantes describes their miseries in *Don Quixote*.

Colbert used his nascent navy for frequent and vigorous actions against these pirates.

Several treaties were concluded, but they remained a dead fact. Duquesne bombarded Algiers; d'Estrées attacked Tripoli. It was a fierce struggle, in the course of which the Turks bound our consuls and missionaries to the muzzles of their guns. Despite these horrible sacrifices and repeated bombardments order was still not restored in the Mediterranean.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Tunisia ceased raiding French ships. The Bey maintained steady relations with French ports. France preserved a very strong position in the Mediterranean. She expelled the British from Minorca and the Balearic Islands. The Bey of Tunis had become almost an ally. The Directory even borrowed shiploads of wheat from him. This Tunisian debt, taken over by Jews from Leghorn who had settled in Algeria, later had unforeseen effects on the conquest of the country.

France's defeats in Egypt dealt a severe blow to her prestige; French influence waned for a time, and the Mediterranean once more became the prey of the pirates.

After the Congress of Vienna, the Deys restored to France her "concessions in Africa," which had been in England's hands between 1807 and 1816. Resolved to put an end to piracy, England brought her cannon before Algiers and Tunis.

The Bey of Tunis submitted, but the Dey of Algiers paid no attention. Admiral de la Gravière's squadron failed to obtain better results.

The relations between the Dey of Algiers and France grew increasingly strained. The claim of the Leghorn Jews was now to decide the fate of Algeria itself. The discussion of this claim induced the government of the Restoration to declare a blockade against the Regency. The batteries of the forts opened fire on the French Navy without provocation. The King's government, which wanted Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, to settle this conflict, could not induce him to take action. The British government was formally called upon to give France a free hand, while powerful contingents landed in Algiers. The Dey collapsed; he was taken aboard a ship to Constantinople. The capture of Algiers coincided with the fall of Charles X and the conquest barely begun remained uncertain.

There were still many difficulties to overcome. The Deys of Oran, Algiers and Constantine held the country with small forces, but in regions difficult of access. Moreover, the Berber tribes, who had withdrawn into the mountains, had a century-old tradition of unexpected and quick forays into the plain. These had secured their independence and preserved their military prowess even at the height of the Roman Empire.

Even after we had captured Oran and Bône and obtained control of the Mitidja, the Atlas Mountains remained closed to us. For four years, war was carried on, until a parliamentary committee entrusted with investigating French conquests definitely asserted the rights of France. The adversaries of colonization nevertheless remained very active and preached the abandonment of the enterprise on every possible occasion. In 1835, M. Passy in the Chamber of Deputies declared that the possession of Algiers was "harmful to France". For six years stubborn discussions went on about credits and effectives. Guizot alone realized that France had to hold both

shores of the Mediterranean in order to preserve her maritime rank "without which there is no power," and asserted her determination to hold out in Algeria at any price.

Guizot's attitude did not lack courage because the campaign was costly and it was impossible to guess that Algeria, extended eastward and westward, would soon become the bridgehead of a great African empire, the first on that continent, the second in the world.

The opposition was so strong that for ten years, from 1830 to 1840, the royal government had to resign itself to sporadic actions, a policy which was all the more difficult because we now had a formidable adversary, Abdu-l-Kadir. In 1877, after a disastrous campaign, we finally captured Constantine, but the conquest would not have been completed if a great military leader had not emerged who was to prove himself both a conqueror and a colonizer: General Bugeaud. He knew the country well. In 1843 he captured the *Smalah* of Abdu-l-Kadir who was compelled to flee to Morocco, where he remained only for a short time because, after our crushing victory at Isly, Algeria accepted the *fait accompli* and Abdu-l-Kadir was taken captive. Nevertheless, the opposition at home begrudged Bugeaud the necessary contingents and the timorous attitude of the government so hampered his movements that he was never able to seize Great Kabylia. This was achieved by his successor, General Randon, a great road-builder, who, drawing his inspiration from the Romans, realized that great conquests can be consolidated only by well-secured roads. Algeria seemed about to realize her destiny when the collapse of the Second Empire caused widespread uprisings. But French Zouaves under Bugeaud and Randon soon restored order. Later, trouble broke out, from time to time, on the frontiers of Morocco, and a famous Marabout, Bou-Amama, led an uprising of a few nomad tribes of south Oran against the French. All these uprisings were sporadic. Perspicacious

governors understood that prosperity alone would stop them. The policy of road-building and irrigation in the southern regions up to Touat rapidly calmed the tremors that shook the Berber world.

The administrative achievements of French African troops, although less glorious than the military exploits of the Zouaves and Spahis, were more important. The Bachagas gradually realized that co-operation with the French was synonymous with wealth, hygiene, well-being and civilization. Despite our gropings in the beginning, this is the secret of our success in the colonization of Africa.

Because of its climate and our methods, Algeria is essentially a colony of the settlement type. In this respect we were only following the methods applied by Colbert in Canada and Louisiana, but this time with success. Great colonizers marked the successive stages of this grandiose achievement. General Claudel, founder of an experimental farm, went so far as to invite foreign immigrants turned away from America to settle in Africa. Marshal Soult, Minister of War, was the first to proclaim: "We must settle a European population in Algeria." And General Bugeaud declared: "It is less important to triumph in battle than to build permanently for France." Lamoricière, that great adversary of Bugeaud, and Bedeau introduced new agricultural methods into the colony. Every year, tens of thousands of new-comers came to occupy empty lands. After 1870, the Alsatians played a particularly important part; the immigrants from Colmar and Mulhouse added a strain of methodical and hard-working laborers to the turbulent Latin elements. Gradually, private land-ownership was established thanks to the Torrens Act which instituted a regular procedure for the redemption of mortgages and secured the rights of the native sellers and the French buyers.

The results of this policy have manifested themselves in impressive figures. In one century the native population in-

creased from two to five and a half million inhabitants. The European population approaches one million. Seven and a half million acres are producing grain, and the production of wine, fruits and vegetables has attained a record volume.

Algeria enjoys the benefits of the Municipal Act of 1884. It is divided into three French departments which nominate councilors general, have prefects as administrators and send representatives to the Chamber and the Senate. Pessimistic spirits have often regretted this substitution of civil government for military domination and patriarchal life which are closer to the traditions of the Berber population. But despite its drawbacks, the institution of civil government was the prelude to a policy of progressive assimilation which has been increasingly respectful of native traditions. The natives were given access to citizenship, that is to say, to rights based on human equality.

In the beginning, Bugeaud was confronted with a native white population so attached to its prejudices and its regime of semi-slavery that its habits were difficult to eradicate by the mere application of force. He appointed, at the head of the *cercles*, officers who continued the patriarchal regime as much as was necessary. This was the system of the Arab offices. Algeria owes its first liberal laws, which paved the way for civilization, to Napoleon III.

In the beginning of 1914 the Chamber of Deputies, fully realizing its responsibilities, requested the government rapidly to enforce fiscal equality and improve the situation of the natives by granting everyone the liberties compatible with French sovereignty. The law of February 4, 1919, granted the Berbers very broad electoral rights and the right to automatic naturalization. The Moslems will naturally have to separate their religion from their political status and definitively give up polygamy. This will be a slow process, but gradually the native will develop the desire to become a more complete

member of the French people; he will realize that his matrimonial status is only one aspect, and the least political one, of the law of the Koran. Monogamy is spreading among the natives for economic reasons. The day is not far distant when this last barrier to cooperation will fall of itself; and on that day the future of Algeria will be definitely secured.

GENERAL BUGEAUD

WHEN General Bugeaud appeared in Africa after having experienced the humiliation of our defeat in Waterloo, he seemed like the last survivor of the Grand Army.

A corporal at Austerlitz, a lieutenant in his teens, during the siege of Saragossa, captain after Lerida, battalion commander at Tarragona, he was a colonel when Napoleon abdicated at Fontainebleau. A disciplined soldier, he did not resign. During the Hundred Days, the Emperor found him at his side and wrote to him: "Colonel Bugeaud, I am satisfied with your conduct. It was wrong to deprive you of the command of the 14th regiment of the line with which you have rejoined me at Auxerre. I have given orders that this command be restored to you and as a mark of my satisfaction I have appointed you Commander of the Legion of Honor."

On June 28, 1815, while in the region of Tarente, he received the official bulletin of the Battle of Waterloo, at the very moment he learned that he was about to be attacked by ten thousand Austrians. He read the bulletin of the defeat to his troops and presented the Imperial Eagle to his soldiers with the following remarks: "Soldiers of the 14th, here is your Eagle; I am presenting it to you in the name of the Fatherland, because if the Emperor, as we are told, is no longer your

sovereign, France still remains. It is France which entrusts this flag to you; it will always be the talisman of victory for you. Swear that so long as one soldier of the 14th is alive no enemy will come near it." "We swear," roared the veterans. The battle began: Seventeen hundred and fifty Frenchmen stood up against a whole Austrian division, killing two thousand men and taking nine hundred and sixty prisoners. When the armistice was signed marking the end of the Napoleonic epic, Bugeaud was thirty years old. Suchet called him the First Colonel of France.

Louis XVIII's government branded him one of the "brigands of the Loire." He never left his home unarmed, because the royalist extremists had sworn to kill him. He retired, married and became a farmer in Périgord. His estate of la Durantie was cited as a model of its kind in the region, because this son of a country squire had preserved the soul of a peasant. "I'll reclaim this land for cultivation," he said. "I find it just as amusing as teaching my regiment to repel cavalry attacks." He was an innovator; his harrows and stone-rollers for separating the grain from the straw made people shake their heads, but his success won them over. After having been president of an agricultural society for fifteen years, he emerged on the political scene backed by the people. The July Monarchy gave him back his stars and he was elected a deputy for Dordogne.

He gave his agricultural achievements precedence over his military achievements: "If I found a man producing two ears of grain instead of one, I would put him above all the political geniuses." This maxim is one of Frederick the Great's, but Bugeaud had made it his own.

Louis-Philippe entrusted him with the thankless task of keeping guard over the Duchesse de Berry at Blaye. He gallantly made the best of this jailer's job, just as later he protected General de Lascours, who was responsible for the shoot-

ing in the Rue Transnonain during the insurrection of 1850. He, who sincerely loved the people, preferred being called a murderer to deserting a comrade. Bugeaud was made of a metal without alloy.

Things were going badly in Algeria; we had suffered a serious defeat at Makta, Abdu-l-Kadir threatened Tlemcen, and there was talk of completely abandoning French possession. The Duke of Orléans protested against any such retreat. Only one man could save the situation: Bugeaud.

His plan of campaign against an enemy who was invisible, elusive, strong in number and redoubtable, contradicted all the accepted ideas. He divided his expeditionary corps into several light columns which penetrated into all the *bleds*, so as to be everywhere at once and give the Arabs the impression of invincible power.

To begin with, he routed Abdu-l-Kadir, annihilating his infantry but sparing intact troops who were at his mercy and who thought they were doomed. His Moslem policy began to take form: "Humanity and politics will be equally satisfied by it," he wrote to Marshal Maison. In these words he traced the outlines of the whole future Franco-Arab structure. Order was restored, he returned to France; but he was recalled because the Paris Cabinet wanted to conclude peace with Abdu-l-Kadir at all costs. Bugeaud let himself be taken in this trap, because at the time he still did not believe in Algeria and colonization. Thus came about the Treaty of Tafna, which Abdu-l-Kadir violated as soon as Bugeaud's back was turned.

During their meeting, the Arab chief remained sitting in front of his *Smalah* in order to humiliate his conqueror. Bugeaud extended his hand to him with a smile. "I raised him from the ground," he said, "he did not seem to take offense at this liberty, which is a great one in the eyes of the Arabs. His hand, which is pretty, seemed weak to me, I felt that I could crush it in mine." But he was not satisfied: "A military inva-

sion is needed to bring about the conquest of the country. We need to follow it up with two or three hundred thousand settlers to occupy the conquered soil. If the colonization of Africa is undertaken under these conditions, I assure you that I will be glad to devote the few remaining years of my life to its success," he told a hesitant Chamber of Deputies.

He was accused of having compromised France's dignity by meeting Abdu-l-Kadir. For this reason he ended his speech on a scathing note: "You will agree that it is easy to have national dignity on this platform. . . . It is strange that people who have never shown it anywhere else should give lessons to those who have displayed it so often, on the battlefield and in the course of history."

"The Ministry may have a plan," he exclaimed during a debate in which the existence of a new Cabinet was at stake, "but it has no aim. And there is only one logical aim: colonization."

He was again sent to fight against the "new Jugurtha"—he was not provided with the necessary means of action, but this time was entrusted with the government of Algeria. As he landed he had just this to say: "Conquest will be sterile without colonization."

Changarnier and Lamoricière, his aides, created all sorts of difficulties for him. They wanted his hide and his position. In Algiers, while he fought on all fronts, he was thwarted by the civilian administration. General Rivet, his most intimate collaborator, explains why: "He believed," he wrote, "that we should take the traditions, habits, in brief, the genius of the different races, into account, that we should change the people without violating their fundamental institutions, have our authority succeed the deposed authority without violent shifts, suppress the abuses inseparable from all absolutist governments by successive reforms, raise the moral standards of the new native chiefs by the example of our own political and

administrative honesty, and gradually win the love of those we govern." This was the policy of Bugeaud, as it was to be that of Faidherbe, Galliéni and Lyautey; but he was the first to practise it.

"You have forgotten force and think only of mercy," a great Arab chief told him after surrendering. Thus, the answer Bugeaud had been waiting for was given him. Such was Bugeaud, the colonizer.

"Bugeaud was less intelligent than Lamoricière or Cavagnac but he surpassed them by his natural gifts, among which the rarest common sense was the most striking; he dominated them by his experience of the Great War." This portrait is by Trochu. Such was Bugeaud, the soldier.

He was worshipped by his men who never forgot how one night Bugeaud was surprised in his camp by a powerful raid while sleeping fully dressed. He rallied them in an instant by torchlight, got the 15th Light Cavalry out of trouble and destroyed the enemy, forgetting to take off his tasselled cap as he fought. In France where everything is made into a song, people still hum a tune about "Papa" Bugeaud's cap.

After he had saved Algeria once again, he was seen in the streets of Algiers, back from the south at the head of his troops, already marked by age, perhaps dreaming of Saragossa or Lerida, gray with dust, his greatcoat worn threadbare by the African sun, followed by his men tanned and ragged as himself, laden like pack-mules, but in impeccable order, the legionnaires of Changarnier, the zouaves of Lamoricière, epic figures whose hero he well deserved to be.

Then came the capture of Abdu-l-Kadir's *smalah*, the engagement of Taguiri, the victory of Isly, the Marshal's baton, the title of Duke, but with them came also slander, envy, the revenge of the bourgeois and the notaries, of all the mediocrity, which was the wretched trimming of Louis-Philippe's reign and which was engulfed by the barricades of 1848.

After the heart-rending incident in the course of which the Ouled Roa tribe was destroyed, Marshal Soult, the Minister of War, not daring to attack Bugeaud directly, took Pelissier to task amidst a seething Chamber. Bugeaud thundered: "I regret, *Monsieur le Maréchal*, that you have found it necessary to blame, without any qualifying statement, the conduct of Colonel Pelissier. If the government deemed that someone be brought to task, it should have been I." These are the words of a leader.

Without instructions and despite a formal order of the Chamber he undertook a lightning campaign in Kabylia, the last hotbed of resistance, and having finished his job he definitely submitted his resignation.

The Algerian *Moniteur* announced his decision in the following terms: "At the present moment, from the Moroccan frontier to the Tunisian, from the Mediterranean to the Sahara, French authority rules undisputed over all Algeria. The Marshal Duke of Isly is returning to France. He has asked the Minister of War to replace him."

This was the end. Cincinnatus returned to his plow. Bugeaud died of an attack of cholera in 1850 while still active, having risked his life every day.

He had conquered Algeria; despite immense difficulties he had traced the plan for all our African colonization. He had understood Islam. When the abolition of titles of nobility was discussed, he accepted the measure willingly, remarking simply: "I should prefer to be nicknamed 'Bugeaud the African.'"

TUNISIA

FRENCH ties with Tunisia are older and closer than those with Algeria. But it was not until the seventeenth century that France had a consul in Tunisia, who represented Louis XIV and was the chief of the consular body.

In 1672, the Marquis de Martel triumphantly concluded his African campaign and the Bey initialed a commercial treaty. The dynastic change did not loosen these solidly established agreements. The *Compagnie d'Afrique* monopolized the sale of soda and wool.

In 1802 Napoleon received a Tunisian embassy with great pomp. After the fall of the First Empire, Mohammed pursued a liberal policy and, as we have mentioned before, agreed to suppress the slave trade and privateering.

It was the adroitness of Matthieu de Lesseps which kept Bey Husein of Tunis out of the Algerian conflict. In fact, the Treaty of August 8th, 1830, granted France the right to intervene in Tunisia. Ahmed went further: he declared that his country was a French protectorate and drove out the Turkish fleet which claimed to represent the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. A French military mission took up residence in Tunisia, entrusted with re-organizing her army. More than that: the Bey asked France to send him the engineers he

needed for completing important public works. At the same time, Tunisia entered the arena of European politics; she took part in the Crimean expedition and, putting into practise the open door policy, also invited England and Italy to submit proposals to her.

Unfortunately, Ahmed Bey's excessive expenditures brought him before an international financial committee which was charged with establishing a kind of concordat. As a result, the country's resources were assigned to pay off the state debts under the joint financial control of England, France and Italy. Despite these setbacks, France's position remained intact. France decided to conclude a gentleman's agreement with England, which recognized the "development of French influence in the Regency of Tunisia." But Italy was already steadily intriguing against France; her secret agents incited the Krumir tribes to make incessant forays into Algerian territory, making the French task increasingly difficult.

Jules Ferry requested the necessary funds from Parliament to take action against these tribes. Two columns, one against the Krumirs and another against Bizerte, promptly concluded this campaign, and in the end the Treaty of Bardo instituted the regime of the present protectorate.

Under political pressure and attacks from Clemenceau, the government was compelled to repatriate our troops. Trouble broke out at Kairwan. The French fleet bombarded Sfax, while bandits infested the hinterland. For electoral purposes Jules Ferry was accused of having caused a national disaster. After the elections, substantial effectives were dispatched to Tunisia and order was promptly restored. Despite the *fait accompli*, Jules Ferry's Cabinet, which wanted to keep "the keys of our African house," was overthrown.

Two transitional Cabinets, Gambetta's and Freycinet's, whose weakness and vacillations lost us Egypt, refused to approach the problem directly, and to rebuild France, defeated

in 1870, as the center of an African Empire which would supply her with sufficient resources to insure her economic independence, and to which she would give, in return, a humanitarian regime and culture—a regime and culture of which the African populations had been deprived for long centuries.

Jules Ferry's return to power enabled him to complete his work. On June 8th, 1883, the Convention of Marsa between the French and the Bey of Tunis consolidated Tunisian finances and opened an era of administrative, judiciary and financial reforms under French tutelage. By the Franco-Italian agreement of 1896 the numerous Italian settlers in Tunisia were granted their own schools, important commercial rights and exceptional agricultural facilities; they were granted also the right to preserve their Italian citizenship. These concessions were consolidated and enlarged in 1911 and 1919 by the peace treaties following the Italo-Turkish and World Wars.

The Tunisian government can be considered a model of its kind. Thanks to the protectorate it avoided the sudden jolts to which Algeria had been subjected for thirty years by her transformations. The resident-general countersigns the Bey's decrees; he is the Bey's permanent adviser, and his secretary-general directs the Tunisian ministries.

It must be admitted that France only had to perfect and modernize an administration of which three liberal and progressive Beys had created the framework. But before the advent of France, the Bey, checked only by the religious law, carried all three branches of government on his own shoulders. He was assisted by a restricted Cabinet of five Ministers. Thus it was incumbent upon the Resident-General to assume the responsibilities of Tunisian foreign policy—this is an essential part of any protectorate. French commanders of land and sea forces undertook the direction of the Tunisian armies. A wise financial administration brought order into the bureaucracy which was still organized along Turkish lines.

In 1922 it was necessary to constitute a Ministry of Justice in order finally to separate the judiciary from the executive powers. In the provinces the caids remain the chiefs of their districts, but the civil controllers are their natural advisers. The municipalities are mixed: the natives and the French share in their administration. An elected Consultative Commission examines the budget and the natives are represented in it by a large delegation.

After the First World War, the Young Tunisian Party, encouraged by Italian intrigues, took the title of Destour (constitution) and tried to foment trouble in the interior, but without success. France continued her work, not of colonization in the old sense of the term, but of collaboration, introducing important reforms. The councils of the Caidates, elected by the notables, discuss all the economic interests of the Caidates. Each economic region has its budget, and its revenues are administered by its own councillors. The Consultative Commission has become the Grand Council. Its fixed composition is characteristic of its spirit. Its financial prerogatives are very extensive. The Superior Council is composed of the ministers and delegates of the administrative committee.

The mixed administration of our colonies has been much discussed; it is the essential guarantee of the success of our colonial policy. The work of adaptation of French law to Moslem tradition was begun by Paul Cambon in 1882. The promulgation of our codes, informed by the Koran but adapted to modern needs, does honor to our first proconsuls who were responsible for them.

As for Tunisian economy, Paul Bourde bent all his efforts to developing the wealth of the country as rapidly as possible. Great prosperity and sound finances are the pride and the achievement of the protectorate. The population numbers one million nine hundred fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand are Europeans.

MOROCCO

THE conquest of Morocco was different from that of Tunisia or Algeria: it was the counterpart of the British occupation of Egypt.

This conquest resulted in the opening of Atlantic ports to serve our North African possessions, the carrying out of a vast public works program, the building of roads, the penetration of regions which were unexplored before French domination, close association with agricultural Berber populations and the pacification of warlike and predatory tribes which had infested Morocco for centuries and against whom the Turks had never dared measure themselves.

During their reign over this immense empire, the Arabs had plunged it into an ignorance and poverty which continued until the beginning of the twentieth century.

What brought the Shereefs to power as rulers of Morocco was their fight against Portugal, which ended in 1578 with their total conquest of the country except for Mazagan.

Despite the Moroccan policy of privateering, Francis I kept up French relations with Morocco—they had begun in the twelfth century. Henry IV replaced the French consul by an ambassador; in 1631, under Richelieu, Razilly obtained a new commercial agreement; in 1683, the year of Colbert's death,

and in 1699, Mulai Ismael, Sultan of Morocco, sent ambassadors to Versailles.

In 1704 England fortified Gibraltar and installed herself in Tangiers. It was only during the conquest of Algeria that Morocco took an anti-French position by helping and later sheltering Abdu-l-Kadir. The victory at Isly put an end to this situation and during the second half of the nineteenth century France no longer had any cause for complaint against Morocco. In 1901 the Sultan settled all the matters that had remained under dispute to our satisfaction. But the Moroccan problem still had to be solved, and France had to settle it with the other powers.

Since 1878, despite the objections of the British, a French military mission had been stationed at Fez. The Madrid Convention of 1880 unanimously decided to maintain the status quo. In 1894 Abdu-l-Aziz, secretly supported by Germany, undertook a number of guerilla attacks which imperiled all the European interests. In 1904, by the agreement of April 8th, which permanently settled the question of Egypt, England gave France a free hand in Morocco. Six months later France signed an agreement with Spain which defined the interests and spheres of influence of the two powers.

Wilhelm II's landing at Tangiers on March 31, 1906, caused the Moroccan problem to loom large on the horizon of European politics. Faced with German threats, Rouvier sacrificed his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Delcassé; but this was not the end of the matter. France, supported by England, demanded, with Spain, the summoning of an international conference at Algeciras. Thanks to the loyal assistance given France by England, Russia and even Austria, Germany did not succeed in impeding France. The powers proclaimed the principle of equal economic opportunity and Germany obtained the introduction of restrictions intended to embarrass France; but as the provisions were, to a certain extent, conceived in

an international spirit, to which the French have always subscribed, France respected the qualifications of the Algeciras Conference even after the Treaty of Versailles.

The Conference had entrusted France and Spain with policing the ports; the two countries decided to create a State Bank. The international status of Tangier was definitely settled at the same time.

Following an increase of disorders provoked by Abdu-l-Aziz, France occupied the city of Ouidah and at the request of the Resident-General French troops landed at Casablanca. The tribes attacked the port but the French protégé, Mulai Hafid, routed Abdu-l-Aziz. In 1909 an agreement was reached with the Maghzen as a result of which Germany recognized France's special political position in Morocco. But Mulai Hafid, too, fell under German influence and in 1911 Fez was for the first time endangered by an attack of Berber tribesmen. A French expeditionary force went to its rescue and France decided to occupy all Western Morocco.

At that moment Germany chose to unmask her batteries. She sent a gunboat to Agadir. M. Caillaux' government thought that it ought to negotiate. The subsequent agreement by which, in return for small compensations in the French Congo, Germany formally recognized the French protectorate and the French right to intervene in Morocco which France had vainly demanded since the Algeciras Conference, unleashed bitter political feeling in France. Ratification of this convention was supported in the Senate by M. Poincaré who was the reporter for the Foreign Affairs Committee. A storm of protest was raised in the press, orchestrated by M. Clemenceau. Caillaux was the object of calumnies similar to those which twenty years earlier had caused the fall of Jules Ferry. Actually, the few sacrifices France had made in Africa were nothing in comparison with the gain achieved: the universal recognition of the French protectorate over Morocco,

even by Germany. But Caillaux' Cabinet was compelled to resign. France, like ancient Greece, has always been severe toward her servants.

On March 30, 1912, the final treaty was signed (at Fez) which instituted the regime of collaboration in Morocco. Spain ratified it on November 27th of the same year. But France's task was far from done. In the spring of 1912, mutinies had broken out, during which Europeans were massacred, and the city of Fez, threatened once again, was relieved only after bloody skirmishes.

Poincaré thought that a great soldier should be placed at the head of the new protectorate. General Lyautey, appointed because of his colonial record, revealed himself as a veritable modern proconsul, as both builder and reformer. It was high time. Mulai Hafid continued to betray us; after the Fez incidents his presence became noxious. Fortunately his brother, Mulai Yusuf, who succeeded him, gave Lyautey most loyal assistance in his difficult task.

New rebellions flared up in the south, led by El-Hiba, who was approaching the outpost of Marrakesh. El-Hiba had always displayed hostility to France and had preserved the century-old tradition of forays against the peaceful agricultural population.

By the definite occupation of Fez, we came into contact with the Chleuhs, a warlike tribe subjected to Caids who were willing to collaborate with the protectorate.

While the hostilities continued in the Tadla and at Taza, the development of the country began to take shape, thanks to the execution of a grandiose program.

Just then, the First World War broke out and General Lyautey sent most of his troops home. He had to maintain order and continue his work with weak effectives. In addition, he had to repel constant attacks organized by Mulai Hafid and a son of Abdu-l-Kadir who had been armed by

the Germans, not to mention forays into the Tadla by the chief of the Zaian tribesmen. In 1917 French military operations took the French beyond the Atlas Mountains.

After the Treaty of Versailles, we reduced our last opponents, the Beni-Ouaraïn, and occupied the region of Ouez-zane. By then the network of roads created by Lyautey was almost completed; and this was the moment chosen by Abd-el-Krim, who had won some prestige by his defeat of the Spanish at Anual in 1921, to attempt a last uprising against France. His political organization seems to have been in the hands of Jacques Doriot, a French Communist now turned Fascist, who even then was in the service of Germany.

At first Abd-el-Krim won a few successes and aroused the region north of Fez. General Boichut was entrusted with an important expedition which extended over several hundred kilometres and he completed it successfully. By 1930 only the Tafilet and the Bou-Denib plain had not been reduced.

Today Morocco, completely pacified, administered along modern lines, provided with modern roads and railways, has weathered French reverses. Since the armistice, not a single hand has been raised against the French protectorate. Marshal Lyautey's achievement is the reason for the continued loyalty of this colony.

Lyautey had to face many problems simultaneously, the most ticklish of which was the judiciary problem. To guarantee the rights of the justiciables it was necessary to establish some control over an organization which combined civil and criminal justice under the authority of the Caids. Inspectors of the judiciary service are now commissioned to secure these guarantees. Government commissioners help the pashas in the exercise of their functions. Finally, and this was the supreme guarantee, courts of appeal were introduced—it always takes a long time to separate the executive and judiciary powers in the Moslem world.

Marshal Lyautey laid the foundations of free public education: schools for the sons of notables, Moslem colleges, practical primary schools. This far-reaching task will bear fruit, as it has in the rest of the French empire, but it will take time.

France continues to respect the local traditions and religious beliefs of the population. This respect is an essential principle of the Atlantic Charter, which the Third Republic has always applied in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, in its colonies, protectorates and mandated territories, in Tongking, Laos, Annam, Cochin-China and Madagascar. For this reason France has maintained the authority of the Maghzen or Sultan's government. Although the independent attitude of the great southern Caids would have made it easy for us to depose him and although on various occasions tribes have proposed that they should submit to France rather than to the Maghzen, France has respected the Act of Algeciras, as she has always respected treaties, and has refused to allow this. As a result the Arab language and Islam are making progress among certain Berber tribes which had remained faithful to the animistic religion and to the Marabouts. A different attitude would have been to France's advantage. Nevertheless the Sultan remains; the Resident-General countersigns his *dahirs* or decrees. The Sultan also preserves his Grand Vizier and his Ministers who govern the country. The Grand Vizier is in charge of repressive justice, one of the essential marks of sovereignty. This justice is exercised by the Cadi courts. The Vizierate is in charge of other important aspects of Moroccan society, among them religious education, pious foundations and the control of the public domain. This latter is administered under French control. The other offices are filled by Frenchmen: general administration, financial services, public works, public education, etc.

In contrast to Tunisia, Frenchmen are at the head of the

various regions. Nevertheless the Caids direct the tribes, while submitting to civilian control. They are also entrusted with collecting taxes.

How did Marshal Lyautey succeed so rapidly in creating prosperity in the protectorate? By agricultural colonization and by carrying out an immense public works program. He introduced the registration of deeds in a country where no land statute had existed before. Immense territories were purchased by the protectorate for settlers and for public works, in a country where the Moslems sell reluctantly and where the domain of the Maghzen is not very great. Lyautey managed to carry out this part of his program with great flexibility and without the slightest conflict—this was one of the most characteristic aspects of his genius. Contrary to false propaganda, injustice and arbitrariness were excluded from all his dealings.

Like a Roman proconsul, Lyautey, with a view to military operations as well as for other reasons, planned an immense network of roads with magnificent parkways and built them in fifteen years. For the railways the normal gauge has been adopted, permitting the linking of Morocco and Algeria by express trains. The narrow gauge railways which in Tunisia and particularly in Equatorial Africa failed to render the services that had been expected of them, served only for the pacification of the country, despite the importance of their network extending in Morocco over twelve hundred kilometres.

Local and municipal problems remained to be settled. In the Berber country the Djemaa, composed of notables, has preserved its century-old power. The municipal councils are mixed, as in Tunisia, and are under the mayoralty of the pashas. The realization of this aspect of the French program has been completed faster in Morocco than in Algeria: thirty years instead of a hundred. The gropings of France's first

African conquest have proved useful. There, as elsewhere, France tried as soon as possible, in fact by 1919, thirteen years after the conquest, to institute a semi-representative regime. The government council is composed, aside from the French *chefs de service* and Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, of native representatives; this Council settles economic problems. In reality the government Council is divided into two parts, and the second is directed by members of the native Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture. Finally, one of the residents-general who succeeded Marshal Lyautey, M. T. Steeg, formed a third chamber composed of elected representatives of those settlers who are neither businessmen nor agriculturists.

In Algeria and to a lesser extent in Tunisia, in order to prepare the protected regions for modern democracy, French legislation was introduced *en bloc*, against the judgment of those who would have preferred to perpetuate the patriarchal administration. In Morocco, Lyautey proceeded differently. French legislation was adapted to the country. A commission instituted by him promulgated all the *dahirs* concerning the status of Frenchmen and foreigners, obligations and contracts, trade, tax assessments and civil and criminal procedures. Other problems no less ticklish confronted us, particularly the monetary problem. Moroccan bimetallism, in which silver was predominant as the result of a long period of Spanish influence, created an unhealthy price situation. Instead, the franc was introduced giving all North Africa a currency based on gold.

Several ports were opened for navigation and the most important of them, Casablanca, was built out of nothing. Its tonnage vies with that of Dakar. Finally a *dahir* published on January 19th, 1921, regulated the exploration and exploitation of mines. The riches of the Moroccan subsoil are immense

and are still far from being completely exploited, particularly the reserves of oil.

Marshal Lyautey was determined to solve all these problems at once, and above all the ethnic problem, the problem of the Berbers. Morocco is Berber for the most part; it is not purely Moslem; it has preserved its own customs, judiciary traditions and law. A method of directing the development of the country toward a Moroccan law and toward the French language rather than the Arab language, has not yet been completely evolved. This difficult problem has been solved partially by defending the Berbers against absolute encroachment on the part of Islam.

France does not abandon embryonic societies to the errors characteristic of backward peoples. She protects them not only against their external enemies, but also against the reminiscences of a barbaric past, against epidemics, "those tyrannies of nature". Like Galliéni, Faïdherbe and Bugeaud, Marshal Lyautey realized that the soldier's role should be that of a harbinger of civilization. "The soldier is the forerunner of the engineer, the merchant, the schoolmaster," said Louis Barthou. This is true, but to stand by this principle, patience and consistency are required, two qualities which were Lyautey's in the highest degree. He also realized the need for constant harmony between military and political action; his formula was to reorganize "without breaking and to pacify without embittering". He had only one joy: to build, plant, organize. He was interested in beautiful constructions and in institutions without external façades, in moral preparation. Respectful of tradition, he had a genius for adaptation. On his seal ring he had engraved this verse by Shelley: "The soul's joy lies in doing".

Out of all this activity Morocco was born. It is the task of France to continue the work that has been begun.

BLACK AFRICA

IN the fourteenth century, the Normans founded the first trading-posts in Africa.

Jean de Béthencourt, who was ruined by piracy, turned toward Africa. He did not undertake this new adventure alone. With Gadifer de la Salle and fifty bold navigators he steered toward the Canaries, occupied them and forced the King of Castile to proclaim him Lord of the Islands. Then he went to get reinforcements in Normandy and persuade settlers to return with him; but after several voyages he lost courage and in 1406 abandoned his possessions to one of his nephews. After his departure the Spaniards prospected the Islands and settled there permanently.

It was from the Spaniards and Genoese that he learned of the opportunities presented by the African continent. He coasted along Senegal but did not make any settlements there. Following the Portuguese the Normans stopped on the African coast before sailing for Brazil. Ile de Gorée became their meeting place. By the end of the sixteenth century they had acquired rights there which Richelieu recognized when he granted the monopoly of the traffic in Senegal and Gambia to the first trading company chartered by France.

Seamen from Saint-Malo, without competing with the Nor-

mans, explored regions south of Sierra Leone and Cape Lopez and created a few trading-posts there. For a century these companies and those which succeeded them explored the entire coast, always respecting each other's rights and recognizing Sierra Leone as the demarcation line of their respective zones.

The Spaniards, British and Portuguese also carried on intensive trade. This commercial competition which went on for two centuries on the same strip of Africa later gave birth to the motley string of colonies which to this very day fringe the western coast of Africa. The hinterland remained closed, the hinterland which we were to conquer in the nineteenth century. But the Negro chieftains negotiated alternately with the four nations and they themselves determined the enclaves which divide the immense territory of Senegal and French West Africa "like the fingers of a hand". We find there the same names and the same companies which won a foothold for France in America. The Company which in 1659 had built Fort Saint-Louis became the *Compagnie du Cap Vert et du Sénégal*. Five years later it yielded to the *Compagnie des Indes* which was in turn dispossessed at the end of the seventeenth century by a new *Compagnie du Sénégal*.

Meanwhile Gorée had fallen into the hands of the Dutch and Louis XIV, having decided under duress to support Charles II in his campaign against Holland, sent d'Estrée to the Atlantic to attack her fleet. During this bold cruise, Rufisque, Joal and Portudac fell into French hands. Gorée remained French until the Treaty of Nimwegen. But then the British changed camps and tried to dislodge the French; they succeeded, and the French returned to Senegal only in 1677. This was the occasion for a victorious campaign under the leadership of a new Company headed by André Brue. The French were not driven out of Senegal again until after 1720.

André Brue went upstream along the river banks seeking gold (which is still mined there today despite the poverty of the deposits). He was exposed to the attacks of the Trarza Moors who were masters of the country. All the forests of Senegal bristled with powerful little forts built by France to defend her traders. André Brue dreamed of reaching the territory of the Niger, where cotton planters today exploit two and a half million acres. Until 1748 the colony enjoyed an era of prosperity. The Seven Years' War returned Gorée to France but deprived her of Senegal and Saint-Louis. Gradually these territories passed from the *Compagnie des Indes* to the Crown.

Saint-Louis was recaptured during the American War of Independence and Gorée, the Cape and Gambia formed a new colony, "Senegal and its dependencies," under one government. In 1783, the Treaty of Paris finally confirmed France in these possessions. The exploitation of the colony gave her the monopoly of gum which England had disputed for a hundred years. The slave trade which extended all along the coast enriched this region. Senegal sent eight thousand slaves a year to the Antilles. This hideous traffic gave the coast its name, because Bénin, in the local idiom, stands for "slave coast".

After the picturesque expedition of the Duc de Lauzun who governed Senegal for a few years, the Comte de Boufflers, abbé, soldier and skilled story-teller, became governor. While in office he bought almost all the Cape Verde peninsula from the King of Cayor. On the Cayor Delta, Dakar erected its first European dwellings. From the eighteenth century the situation and nature of Dakar's bay made it the largest naval port on the South Atlantic.

When the French Revolution came, Senegal presented a *cahier* demanding freedom of trade, which was eventually to cause its ruin. It led to the suppression of the slave trade

with all its consequences. Black deputies sat in Paris. The unrest provoked by these profound changes produced a massacre of the French, and during the Napoleonic wars, the British once again seized Gorée. The Treaty of Amiens returned this possession to France, but she did not occupy Senegal permanently until 1816. During that period Major Haughton penetrated Africa, for the first time, as far as the Niger.

In 1666, under the leadership of Villault de Bellefonds, the *Compagnie des Indes* had explored the approaches of the coast as far as the Gold Coast. After the fall of the *Compagnie des Indes*, the *Compagnie de la Côte d'Or et de la Guinée* pursued its advantage up to the Ivory Coast and seized Assinie. It built a fort which the Dutch captured in 1705; France returned there only in the nineteenth century.

In 1786 expeditions left from Gorée to explore the southern coast of Africa; Amokou and Lahou became French trading-posts and France took possession of the river mouths. The Kingdom of Juda or Ouidah was part of an immense territory which belonged to the King of Ardras. Ducasse exploited it in his turn and established trading posts, although at that time the Dutch and the British monopolized the trade. D'Elbée became a friend of the sovereign, and thanks to the agreements he concluded, the French position became dominant throughout this empire. France settled there peacefully and during the latter part of the eighteenth century the French, British and Dutch in this region agreed not to take part in the conflicts between their respective countries and carried on trade, unmolested.

The *Compagnie d'Ouari et du Bénin*, which was perhaps the first to cut the rubber plant, established itself firmly in Owari. A treaty with the King of Dahomey gave France a free hand for the exploitation of the country.

The African policy of the Revolution caused France to

abandon all her trading-posts; she returned only under Louis-Philippe. Between 1815 and 1848, after the restitution of Senegal, France again became interested in her African possessions, which within a century were to constitute the important colony of French West Africa.

SENEGAL AND SUDAN

UNDER the Bourbon Restoration France regained possession of the coasts of the Black Continent, colonized by the Monarchy during the last two centuries, and the disputed regions were divided among the interested powers. The French colonies of Guinea, Senegal and Gambia were restored, but the British and the Portuguese asserted their rights to those points on the Atlantic coast which they had ruled together with the Dutch since the sixteenth century. Thus British Gambia and Portuguese Guinea were born. France regained her foothold on the Ivory and Gold Coasts.

The Restoration could not make up for the loss of Santo Domingo, whose independence it had proclaimed under duress. In a special treaty it had recognized the rights of the Haitian population. In this country, the old-fashioned type of colonization which the Third Republic later repudiated as immoral was no longer possible after the abolition of slavery. The government took into account a report presented by Count de Hogendorp on the future of cotton and indigo in Senegal. Count de Hogendorp had for a long time been an agent of the Dutch East India Company, and M. de Portal relied on his long experience. Portal dreamed of a vast black colony which would take the place formerly held by Santo Domingo among our overseas possessions.

At that time Senegal was governed by a colonel of the engineer corps named Schmalz, who had come there on one of the boats that rescued the victims of the sinking of the *Méduse*, immortalized in the painting of Géricault. Colonel Schmalz' ambition was to penetrate the country as far as the Niger, occupying it by agreement with the King and transforming it into a vast granary and garden. A corporation was formed in Paris for the agricultural exploitation of Cape Verde—in 1815 the development of the salt-works was not yet contemplated—and numerous settlers embarked for Africa. But they found no shelter and insufficient food and had to be sent home.

After this failure, the Colonel acquired territories in the Oualo where cotton planters were installed, but they were constantly exposed to the forays of the Trarza Moors who claimed this region as their own. In 1818 Schmalz decided to create an outpost at Bakel in Galam, and even ventured to push forward as far as Fouta-Djallon which the British had explored from Gambia, hoping thus to get possession of the hinterland. The Colonel was unsuccessful and was replaced by a naval officer who undertook the exploitation of cotton on a large scale and the cultivation of the castor bean, sesame and indigo. Experiments with the rubber plant were continued.

These forerunners of the great French colonizers experienced reverses and necessity caused them to return to trade. The gold of Bambuk proved unprofitable, and to look for gold at this point was to put the cart before the horse. What had to be done first was to explore the interior, create outposts, begin trading, settle peacefully, if possible as far as the Niger, and—this dream was materialized later—establish a connection with our North African possessions through the Chad.

The pioneer in this great achievement was Rene Caillé, the son of a baker. Thirsty for adventure, like his great predeces-

sors Jean Ango, Champlain and Cavelier de la Salle, at the age of sixteen he embarked from Bordeaux for Senegal with three *louis* in his purse. His first trip gave him the desire to return, which he did later, richer in years and experience, but not in money. In 1824, we find him once more in Senegal. He penetrated deep into the rolling country, lived with the Brakna Moors and learned Arabic. Even then he realized that our expansion would have to follow the beaten tracks of Islam. Soon he reached Rio Nunez and, disguised as an Egyptian, traversed the Fouta Djallon. He approached the Niger at Kouroussa, then at Dienne and Timbuctoo, where his life was in constant danger. He returned through Morocco, still penniless. He was not the first white man to discover Timbuctoo; an Englishman, Major Laing, setting out from Tripoli had reached this mysterious city of caravans and had been murdered there.

Up to this point the French, after the reverses suffered by Schmalz, had done nothing more than resume their gum trade and confine themselves to the coast. The July monarchy had not envisaged any large-scale enterprise; in all its actions its eyes were fixed on England. Despite the comfortable bourgeois atmosphere of the period, Caillé seemed to his contemporaries like a knight in whom the great tradition of the Crusades lived again. Louis-Philippe received him at the Tuileries and decorated this unexpected son of the July Revolution according to his true merit.

In 1845 the king's government made up its mind to send to Senegal a first-class administrator, Admiral Bouet Villaurme, celebrated for his explorations in French Guinea. The Admiral had drafted a complete plan for penetrating the country based on maintaining a string of outposts along the upper courses of the rivers. The Cabinet hesitated, fearing possible objections from England and the project gathered dust in the archives of the Admiralty. It was Faidherbe, under

the Second Empire, who later unearthed this project and undertook the exploration and settlement of Senegal on a large scale.

Meanwhile the colony was declining, and the *Compagnie de Galam* was on the verge of bankruptcy. The July Monarchy which had almost abandoned Algeria and which might have renounced its conquest had it not been for General Bugeaud, was about to forget Senegal. The notaries with golden chains, so amusingly described by Théodore de Bainville, at that time dominated the French Parliament and they recommended a policy of abstention. Nevertheless, an inter-Ministerial Committee investigated the problem on the spot. Contrary to all expectations, this committee concluded that Senegal deserved "a rich and fruitful development, on the condition that free competition be resumed in the gum trade, that privileged societies be suppressed and security restored."

Protet, who was entrusted with the job, advocated a military expedition. This plan bore fruit, although the conquest of Equatorial Africa by Savorgnan de Brazza was later to prove that where black populations are involved, better results are obtained if authority is based on mutual understanding and gentleness.

Louis Napoleon finally carried out a complete program for Africa—the program of a man whom he detested, Faidherbe. Faidherbe had come from Africa where he covered himself with glory in combat at Bougie, on July 18, 1851. His assignment to Senegal was interpreted as an expression of disfavor; the Second Empire had not forgiven him his youthful enthusiasm during the first days of the Revolution of 1848 when he approached Guadeloupe with a shipment of slaves and was welcomed by the population with cries of, "Long live Victor Hugues!" and, "Freedom! Freedom!" During that trip he had seen those four hundred Negroes packed in the steerage and at dusk, when keeping watch, had listened with a

shudder to their clamors and sobs. During the starry nights under the Equator he had deeply reflected on this slavery which the Bourbon Restoration had tolerated despite the promises given at the Congress of Vienna. Slavery had been protected, codified and created by strong men who under a tropical sun preserved their military courage when their own lives were at stake, but who were unable to resist the moral temptation to force other men of a colored race to perform hard labor in their stead. Leaning on the railing, Faidherbe thought of the eighty ships laden with "ebony" which, for centuries, had carried on the shameful traffic between Bénin, the Slave Coast, and the rich Antilles. He perhaps repeated to himself in a low voice the words uttered in the Convention on February 4, 1794: "*All men, without distinction of color, are French citizens.*" He thought of his father who thirty years earlier had been a political prisoner under the White Terror. At that time he had not yet become the friend of Schoelcher, but he was already suspect in Morny's eyes, and the latter called the attention of his superiors to this young libertarian.

Faidherbe landed in Senegal on August 23, 1842, closely watched by the government, but full of plans. During the very first months after his arrival he traced the framework of Senegal, the modern colony: roads and centers of communication, the only logical backbone for the great amorphous body which was to become French West Africa. "Although this country is as fertile as India and well populated," he wrote, "it has not sufficient means of communication with the rest of the world to be stimulated to produce and export its goods in the interests of all mankind." Less than a hundred years later the yearly production of French West Africa amounted to half a billion francs, thus justifying Faidherbe's prophecy. But this servant of France, the land of freedom, was more concerned with other problems: he was preoccupied with the fate of the Negro,

of whom he wrote later: "The black man is a man naturally kind, of an intelligence comparable to that of the white races, but, lacking in character, will always be at the mercy of races better endowed in this respect." With all his heart he clung to this mercy as to a shining shield.

He soon realized that the peace of the native tribes, the safety of the caravans and the freedom of exchange depended upon the ruthless suppression of the plunderers and fanatics who for centuries had been maltreating the peaceful agricultural populations.

During the period of conquest Faidherbe founded schools and a bank, built telegraph lines, organized scientific expeditions, traced a network of roads, explored the possibility of constructing a railroad and ports, and, above all, patiently learned the *ouolave* and *peuhl* languages, of which he mastered all the nuances in a short time. Black men fear interpreters; they give their confidence to the man who speaks their language, to whom they can tell their terrors and their sorrows, their hopes and their joys. Faidherbe's linguistic achievement brought him dramatic, unexpected mass submissions. The General kept his given word; all the desert knew that he was not a "gnaka diom," a man without honor.

In the course of his long and persistent creative efforts he discerned, in the letters he received from his government, a note of regret over an occupation which Paris considered impolitic amidst a race it believed to be stupid, in a land of inhospitable sands. At the government offices, even after Faidherbe's most solid achievements had become known, his reports were scrutinized with the distrust the Emperor always had for this Utopian, humanitarian Governor who electrified the Negroes with his indomitable courage, his will-power and his spirit of justice. He was the first to permit Negroes to enlist under the French flag.

In 1858 the government wanted to recruit Negroes for work

in the Antilles, and Faidherbe submitted his resignation. "I think," he wrote in a letter to the Ministry in Paris, "that I am leaving the colony in a satisfactory condition and I am convinced that France can make it a prosperous and useful possession if we continue to consider the interest of the natives as our paramount object."

Some time later, after his final return to France, he wrote, in his own blood, one of the finest pages of the disastrous campaign of 1870. When he died, a Grand Chancellor of the *Légion d'Honneur*, his children found various notes in his beautifully slanting script; one of these notes bore the following six words: my fortune: an income of two thousand francs (400 dollars). He had served his country for fifty years.

But let us return to his activities in Senegal. Immediately upon his arrival he put an end to a regime humiliating to France: he stopped the paying of "customs" to the natives, and insured the safety of merchants and settlers by building fortified outposts on the rivers. When Faidherbe was no more than a captain in the engineers corps, he built a fort at Podor after an expedition against the Toucouleurs, who opposed France's peaceful colonization.

In 1854 the Imperial government appointed him governor of the colony, despite his republican past. He held this post for seven years. With a few hundred soldiers, he succeeded, for the first time, in stopping the raids of the Moors who harassed the population and attacked French outposts at Oualo, and after a short campaign he annexed the region. This was only the first landmark. The occupation of Senegalese Fouta enabled him to penetrate into Khasso where he met his first formidable adversary, El-Hadj-Omar. After a difficult campaign, Kayes and Medina were nevertheless captured. The King of Khasso asked France for her help; to support and strengthen him, Faidherbe decided to establish a bridgehead at Medina.

El-Hadj-Omar was the son of a Marabout. Lord of a vast region, he enjoyed great popularity and the Negroes considered him invincible. Despite the weakness of French effectives, Faidherbe organized a systematic campaign against him, relying on the agricultural population whose harvests the Marabout devastated, whose villages he set afire, abducting women and children into slavery. On the other hand, the warlike and fanatical tribes, numerous in all the corners of the desert, responded one after another to the appeals of this Black Abdu-l-Kadir. The nucleus of his troops was the Tidjania Moslems, who were well organized and relatively well armed.

After having plundered Bakel, El-Hadj-Omar besieged Medina. Faidherbe gave him battle and routed his army. The Marabout fled to Senegal in order to reform his columns far from French posts and sheltered from French attacks.

When Faidherbe returned to France he explained to the Imperial Cabinet that the primary objective was the complete destruction of El-Hadj-Omar. In 1863 a new plan was drafted: he was to push as far as the Niger to develop cotton production there. Faidherbe reached an agreement with the masters of Timbuctoo and, his adversary having again retreated, he sent an emissary to negotiate with him. But upon his arrival in Segou the French envoy learned that the Black leader was dead; the road from Senegal to the Niger was now free and clearly marked out.

In the meantime Faidherbe had founded Dakar, since Gorée was no longer sufficient to French needs. Cayor was annexed and the conqueror pushed northward as far as the Baie du Levrier, and southward as far as Mellacorée and Casamance. At the same time the way was largely paved for administrative organization. A school was created for the sons of chieftains, the archetype of French schools for natives, reserved in the beginning for hostages taken from the families of the chief-

tains, in the hope of turning them into friends or allies by education. The *Banque de Sénégal* opened its doors for the purpose of developing the region.

For the first time army volunteers were accepted from the faithful tribes, who were later to become the Senegalese sharpshooters. After having helped in the conquest of French West Africa, they covered themselves with glory during the First World War.

In 1871 the establishment of the Third Republic marked a new stage. Senegal sent its deputies to Parliament. Gorée and Saint Louis de Senegal became full-fledged communes entirely equal to the metropolitan French communes. Because of its age-old ties with France Senegal enjoyed the regime of the old colonies.

In 1875 Lieutenant-Colonel Brière de l'Isle was appointed governor. The Chamber of Deputies voted credits for the construction of the first railroad connecting Saint Louis and Dakar, Medina and Bafoulabé. Later this line was extended to the Niger. In 1879 a General Council was instituted, and Rufisque was granted the same regime as Gorée and Saint Louis.

Dakar did not become a full-fledged municipality until 1897. Then a civil governor of the colony was finally appointed. Progressively, smoothly, all of Senegal was conquered. The last incident was the forays of the prophet Mahamadou Lamine who created unrest among the peaceful populations of Upper Senegal. In the course of an expedition led by Lieutenant Galliéni, Mahamadou Lamine was defeated and killed (1888).

It was now time peacefully and honorably to define our Senegalese frontiers with our neighbors, whose enclaves might have become a bone of contention. Franco-British and Franco-Portuguese commissions were appointed; they amica-

bly established the frontiers of British Gambia and Portuguese Guinea.

Since Colonel Brière de l'Isle had put down on paper his project for a railroad from Medina to Bafoulabé, French progress on the Niger had become marked. A fort was built at Bafoulabé.

Jules Ferry's accession to power coincided with the campaigns of 1882 to 1885. By that time Colonel Borgnis-Desbordes had built the Fort of Bamako.

Two black chiefs, who realized that French conquest of the Niger would result in the end of their lucrative yearly forays against the peaceful tribes, still had to be subdued. The French had suppressed the slave traffic, and the terror which had formerly reigned in these regions was gone. These two chiefs, Ahmadou and Samori, who held the entire north, were dangerous. Ahmadou was the son of our old enemy, El-Hadj-Omar; his empire consisted of four kingdoms whose capitals were Dinguiraje, Segou, Massina and Nioro, in Kaarta. Those of his kingdoms which were populated by peaceful tribes submitted to colonization after brief expeditions. In 1887 Bambara became a French protectorate. Kong and Sikasso surrendered to our Lieutenant Binger. The upper course of the river was conquered by Galliéni during the period from 1886 to 1888. Colonel Archinard, his successor, defeated the Toucouleurs who had remained faithful to Ahmadou. The pacification of the Toucouleurs was a difficult job; it was completed four years later by Colonel de Trentinian, and in 1888 the Upper Niger became the French Sudan.

Colonel Archinard, stimulated by Eugène Etienne, pursued his advantage in the direction of Dinguiraje and Segou, both of which submitted. The campaign against Ahmadou began. It lasted for several years, for this Black chief succeeded in arousing the Peulhs against France. At the same time France

had to keep Samori in check. Ahmadou, defeated at Massina and Mopli, died in Sokoto in 1898.

Samori covered the last territory to be conquered, the center of which was Kankan, but which extended over Ouasoulou and Manding. From 1881 on, the threatened or plundered populations of this region called upon French troops to help them. Samori was thrown back on the right bank of the Niger and tried to re-organize his forces in the east, whence he harassed the French by continual forays into Bamako, despite the agreement concluded with him by Desbordes. Driven out of this region he turned against other kingdoms which sought French protection, and sacked Sikasso. Archinard was compelled to organize a series of campaigns to put an end to these depredations. There was the campaign of Bissandougou in 1890; and the campaign of the Ivory Coast into which Samori had been driven, but where he had no difficulty supplying himself due to the richness of this populous region.

Colonel Monteil went to the help of Kong who also demanded French support against Samori. The great Black chief, pursued by the French, across the African forest, suddenly turned towards Volta and attacked the British. France sent Braulot to negotiate with him, trying to follow a policy of agreements which had been successful in other quarters. Samori ordered the French emissary to be murdered. It was then that France decided to destroy him. He was surrounded in the highlands; but before disposing of him, France had to take Sikasso, whose King had become his most faithful ally. Sikasso was considered an impregnable citadel. When Samori learned that Sikasso had been taken by a bayonet assault, he fled to the forest tracked by a French column which had discovered his hiding place; he was hunted out of his positions by Lieutenant Gouraud and taken prisoner.

In 1892 French Sudan became a French colony, autonomous

in character, under a civil governor. It was not entirely safe from raids and for some time military operations continued there, with painful incidents such as the massacre of certain French military missions. The population which we had accepted under French protection worked and traded with France, but the warlike sects which for centuries had been accustomed to levying tribute upon them, by violence or looting, surrendered only slowly, one by one, and the pacification of the colony was not completed until 1903.

The government of French West Africa, born in 1895, comprised French Sudan, administered by a lieutenant-governor. At that time the occupation of Timbuctoo and the struggle against the Tuaregs were still going on; this struggle cost the life of Lieutenant-Colonel Bonnier, slaughtered during a reconnaissance action. Commandant Joffre, who seized Timbuctoo, built a string of forts around the capital of the Tuaregs which have since then secured French domination of this region.

General de Trentinian, who was commissioned to administer the territory, consolidated the situation by building outposts at Gao and Zinder. It was only in 1903 that the Tuaregs considered themselves beaten and surrendered definitively. Thus the French became masters of the entire Sudan, after destroying Ahmadou and Samori.

The loop of the Niger remained unexplored and the French had to establish themselves in the directions of the Chad and in the North. They owe the conquest of this region to Binger. The Kingdom of Sokoto was given to Great Britain by the London agreements of 1890.

After the exploration of the loop as far as the northern part of the Gold Coast, of Dahomey and Say on the Niger, now definitely occupied, the partition of these territories by France and England did not present any difficulties. France established a protectorate over the kingdom of Ouagadougou

in 1897. One year later, this protectorate was recognized by England, which received Boussa as her share.

Franco-British rivalry on the Lower Niger gave rise to a few conflicts between a British company which had exploited the delta since 1799 and the French *Compagnie de l'Afrique Equatoriale*. As a result of the settlement of these conflicts the southern limit of the French zone was retraced and moved to Ilo.

Navigation on the river remained free by virtue of the Berlin agreement. England, in order to put an end to all disputes, repurchased her trading posts from the British company and created the colony of Nigeria.

Thus French possessions in the Sudan were crystallized and later took the names of Sudan, Volta and Niger. Mauritania borders this empire on the north. It was born out of an agreement with the Moors who occupied the regions north of the Senegal River. The first compacts were signed by Faidherbe. It was Coppolani who, after a difficult exploration, signed a final treaty with the Moors, establishing a real protectorate which was sanctioned by Blanchet after Coppolani's tragic death in 1902. France also reached an understanding with Spain which gave her the coast from Cape Blanco to Cape Juby and created Rio de Oro. This territory had been annexed peacefully by Coppolani when fanatics, bribed by Mal-el-Ainine, murdered the great explorer. Egged on by the Sultan of Morocco, Mal-el-Ainine attacked French outposts; this was in 1905. It took no less than two years for Colonel Gouraud to throw back these aggressors and occupy Adrar. The son of the fanatical chief, secretly helped by the Sultan, raided Mauritania several times before 1913 and devastated prosperous regions. Since his death in 1919 no one has attacked French possessions.

THE WINNING OF THE SOUTH

THE exploration of the Gulf of Guinea solidly established the reputation of Bouet Vuillaumez. He travelled through the Grain, Gold and Ivory Coasts. All the Black chiefs knew him from the region of Garroway up to Grand Bassam. But he confined himself to discovery; he did not establish a foothold anywhere.

Only four years after Vuillaumez's voyage, in 1841, Admiral Duperré gave orders for the occupation of the Slave Coast. A Bordeaux company installed itself in Ouidah. Fortified outposts were built at Garroway, Assinie and Gabun. France took final possession of the southern rivers. In 1848, these bases strung along the coast and Gabun, were placed under the administration of Bouet Vuillaumez; they reached as far as the port of *Ouidah*; the new colony was part of Senegal and its administrative center was Gorée. The southern rivers have since become part of French Guinea, but before 1860 France occupied only Boke on Rio Nunez, Mellacorée and Boffa.

The hinterland consisted of the Fouta Djallon, an imposing granite ridge, and, behind it, an extremely rich plain which for a long time had served as a granary for French adversaries. The main group of mountains was occupied by the Peulhs,

fanatic Moslems whose murderous exploits we have already briefly related. These mountains had been exploited by René Caillé, and Faidherbe had sent missions there.

In 1872, thanks to a French engineer, Olivier de Sanderval, France concluded agreements with native chiefs, which gave the French the advantage over the governor of British Sierra Leone who was about to begin negotiations with the same object in mind. Sanderval, who sought gold in Manding, had obtained land and a railroad concession from the rulers of Fouta Djallon. He, too, thought of the route along the Niger. He had considerable influence over the King of Fouta Djallon, and as a result lorded it over the entire region for many years. And more than once he put his personal influence at the service of his country.

Brière de l'Isle, in order definitely to bar England from Fouta Djallon, dispatched Dr. Bayol there, accompanied by a teacher and, what is even more curious, a comedian, a certain Noirot who had been the leading attraction of the *Folies Dramatiques* in Paris and had discovered in himself the soul of an explorer. In the course of his mission Noirot attained unexpected successes with various Negro kings by showing them a music-box.

Only in 1882 did the British government recognize the treaty France had concluded with the lord of Fouta Djallon, and a commission settled the French frontiers and those of Sierra Leone. At that time, in order to strengthen her protectorate, France occupied Kaloum and the Ile de Toumbo, whence today rises Conakry. Dr. Bayol, appointed Lieutenant General of the Rivières du Sud, found himself face to face with Germans quartered between Dubreka, which the French had founded, and the Brayama River. He offered them an exchange of territories which was accepted. The Germans took possession of various outposts on the Bénin Coast, Petit Popo and Porto Seguro, the starting points of Togoland.

France's common frontier with Portuguese Guinea had been established and Galliéni was able to send his emissaries into Fouta. To control the country it was necessary to seize this mountain range which was of difficult access. Galliéni's mission seemed the confirmation of the French protectorate.

Engineers took over the railway project, designed and bequeathed to the French by Sanderval, and prepared a preliminary plan of works which have since been carried out. In 1896, following various disorders, Fouta was annexed and France appointed a governor of French Guinea. At about that time the construction of the railroad began.

The settlers beyond Liberia had more romantic experiences. France had occupied Garroway, Assinie and Grand Bassam on the Gold Coast in 1840. During the war of 1870 these outposts were abandoned and, despite the risk involved, entrusted to a commercial firm from La Rochelle, the Verdier Company, whose trading-posts were as old as the conquest of the region.

The chief of this firm, Treich-Laplène, was twenty-five years old and had arrived in Africa only a short time before. Despite innumerable incidents and difficulties, he succeeded in asserting his position of provisional resident with rare courage and turned the coast settlement into a colony. Without military support he decided to negotiate with those native chiefs who, in order to enjoy the benefit of France's protection later, were willing to fight off the raids of neighboring tribes. This unusual situation continued for fifteen years; only in 1888 was he commissioned to represent France officially. A Lieutenant-Governor of Rivières du Sud sent Treich to L'Indénié, to obtain a protectorate treaty from the Black chiefs. Treich preceded the English by only a few days and arrived in Kong before Lieutenant Binger. When the latter arrived in Kong, expecting to make trouble, the treaty had already been signed. At that very moment, Eugène Etienne sent Treich his appointment as Resident-General of the Gold Coast; he received it

on his deathbed, exhausted by fevers at the age of twenty-nine.

French activity continued eastward along the Bandama River and westward in the direction of the immense territories adjacent to the Ivory Coast. The latter became a colony of the same name, under an independent governor. Now it was time for the French to settle their final frontiers with the British Gold Coast and, on the other side, with the Republic of Liberia. The territory doubled in depth by the addition of numerous regions in which the French built new forts between 1893 and 1899. The colony had no port; the addition of Abidjan enabled the French, defended by the new forts, to start a railroad for purposes of penetration. The pacification of all this territory was completed only in 1912 by Governor Angoulevant.

As early as 1899, the conquest of Dahomey, which served to secure French possessions in French West Africa, was achieved, but under terrific difficulties. Because of its geographical position Dahomey was the most important part of the Bénin Coast, bordering on British Nigeria on the east and German Togoland on the west, with a two hundred kilometre-long front on the Atlantic. Behind this coast of lagoons were valleys some of which were over one thousand meters deep. Dahomey means "belly of Dan"—named for a king who had driven his rival from the throne, captured him and buried him alive.

Merchants from Bordeaux had won a foothold in Ouidah and dealt with the King of Dahomey as early as 1848. Ten years later Admiral Bouet Vuillaumez went to Abomey and signed a pact of friendship and trade with the King of Porto-Novo, placing him under a French protectorate, while Dahomey, itself, ceded Cotonou. French rights to Cotonou were not contested until 1882.

After extensive exploration as far as Agoué and Porto

Seguro, Grand Popo and Petit Popo, the future nerve centers of German Togoland, fell into French hands, thus bringing the whole Bénin region under French rule. King Gléglé challenged these rights to Cotonou and Porto-Novo; he had previously clashed with the Portuguese. French relations were thus extremely strained, when he died, and his successor Béhenzin took advantage of this to attempt a coup. Several Frenchmen were kidnapped at Ouidah. France had only one hundred and forty infantrymen on the spot, guarding the coast, and they were compelled to retreat before a large army gathered by Béhenzin. Among other troops, he disposed of three thousand well-armed women, known since that campaign as the Amazons because of their courage and the speed of their horses. Béhenzin opened hostilities by attacking a French gunboat.

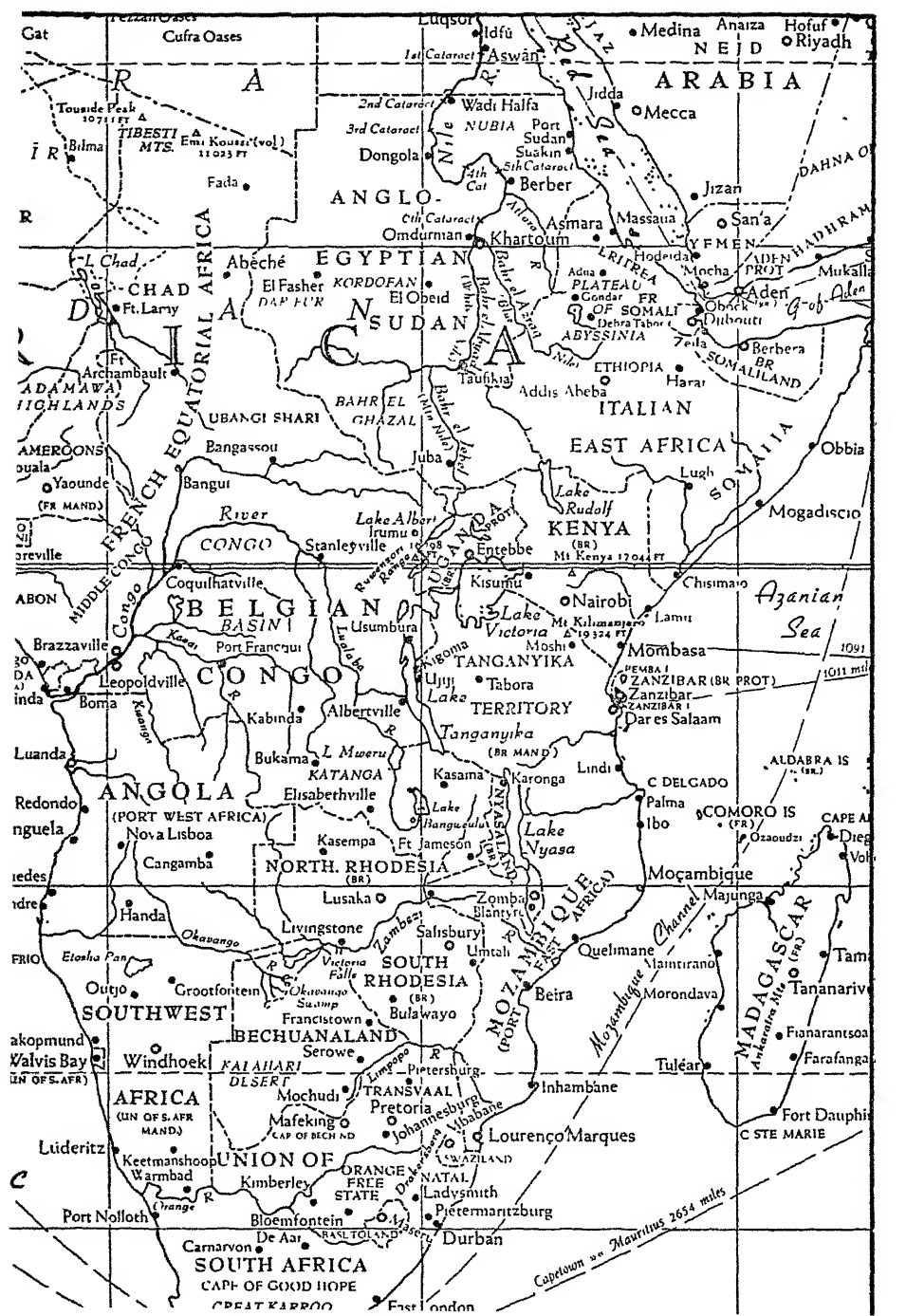
In reply to these provocations Colonel Dodds organized a punitive expedition which he completed rapidly and successfully. In a few days the expeditionary force seized Abomey, and the Kingdom of Ouidah was attached to the new colony. Béhenzin took flight, but the war continued and Colonel Dodds had to campaign again in the fall. After several indecisive battles, the King of Dahomey was taken prisoner and deported to Algeria where he died peacefully among his own people.

The French preceded the British and the Germans in the northern part of this difficult region and successively signed protectorate agreements with all the native chiefs of the kingdom. Dahomey became a part of French West Africa.

Today this colony numbers fifteen million inhabitants. Its Governor General resides in Dakar, the most important port on the South Atlantic. It comprises Senegal, Sudan, the Ivory Coast; the settlements in Bénin which were under the jurisdiction of Gabun were attached to it only in 1899. It has a general budget.

In 1903 Mauritania, too, was annexed; but this colony remains autonomous, under a statute established in 1919.

Since 1925 the natives have voted for the electoral chambers, which in turn choose representatives on the governing body of Sudan, Guinea and the federal government. They are represented in the council of each colony to which they send two delegates, one Frenchman and one native. Senegal has deputies in the French Parliament.



FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

FRENCH Equatorial Africa was born out of the conquest of the Bénin and the Ivory Coast and Gabun. It might have never developed if the Order of the Holy Ghost, which sent a mission to Gabun in 1841, had not continued there when the French government, after the disaster of 1870, decided definitely to abandon the region.

As early as the sixteenth century the companions of Jean Ango, who put in at Gorée en route to Brazil, coasted along these shores.

The Portuguese had taken possession of the left bank of the Congo, and the Normans in vain tried to dislodge them. No navigator had ventured to penetrate the immense mysterious hinterland. Equatorial Africa was discovered by Livingston and Stanley, and its fascination cost the Prince Imperial his life.

Savorgnan de Brazza, a young Italian who became a French citizen while engaged in the exploration of Ogoué, undertook the colonization of Equatorial Africa. He preceded Stanley in the Congo and won the love and confidence of the tribes who lived along the great rivers. Stanley considered this apostle "an adventurer and a highwayman, a miserable tramp about whom there was nothing remarkable save his ragged uniform

and his big battered hat." At the International Conference in Brussels in 1876 the great British explorer agreed to enter the service of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, who, under cover of an international African association formed chiefly for philanthropic purposes, was preparing to annex the Congo. The King gave up the idea of hiring Brazza the moment he met him; as for the young naval ensign, as soon as he met the King he begged to be excused from entering his service.

The next year the Minister of the Navy commissioned Brazza to explore Ogoué at his own request. Brazza chose as his collaborators, Noël Ballay, an assistant physician, and Haron, a naturalist. During this first expedition he founded Franceville and reached the Congo off Stanley Pool. This was a long and painful Odyssey, during which he obtained a protectorate treaty for France from the celebrated King Makoko. As he set out on his voyage he clearly foresaw the obstacles nature would put in his way. He wanted, he said, "to lift the veil which concealed the immense unknown continent that separated us from the regions of the Upper Nile and Tanganyika."

From the Ogoué basin his party reached the Aenna, a tributary of the Congo. Having lost a part of their supplies, the explorers had to continue on their way barefoot. It was in this condition that Brazza met Makoko's emissaries. "The road that then opened before us," he said a few days before this meeting, "was to take us to the center of an unexplored world; we had to march straight ahead without thinking for a moment of turning back." This faith was to bring him to the goal he had set himself. But he was surrounded by dangers. One night he discovered a gathering of warlike tribes on the river bank: "The night was continually disturbed by clamors, war songs and tom-toms; shadows kept circulating around our group." He adds: "We were meat for their feast." But nothing stopped him.

Following his negotiations with Makoko, the French flag was hoisted at N'Tamou which later became Brazzaville, the nerve center of the Congo. N'Tamou was the key to the conquest of the Congo; it was the commercial and strategic bridgehead of four thousand navigable kilometres.

In 1881 Stanley, who literally followed upon Brazza's footsteps, encountered a French outpost commanded by Sergeant Malamine and found his way barred.

As soon as his agreement with King Makoko was signed, Brazza hastened on the homeward journey. Returning through Niari and Kouilou he took possession of the whole region he had explored on the way. From now on the Lower Congo belonged to France. Back in Paris he secured, in Parliament, the ratification of the treaty concluded between Makoko and the government of the new colony. Immediately afterwards the colony of Gabun was extended as far as Louango in order to complete the defense of this immense territory.

Within the space of two years Brazza established twenty-two outposts distributed over a space of 500,000 square kilometres. In this vast hastily drawn chess-board he made each of the settlements a regularly functioning center of authority. The file of France was submitted to the International African Association which at last granted France preferential rights to the Belgian Congo should King Leopold II renounce his possessions. The Act of Berlin finally defined the various spheres of influence to complete French satisfaction. France settled the frontiers of the colony with Spanish Guinea and German Cameroon. This conquest had not cost a single drop of blood.

In 1885 Brazza, following a new trail, established on Lake Chad the junction of our possessions in the Congo, the Sudan and North Africa. His expedition had taken him through Ubangi and Sangha. The Maistre mission, entrusted with reaching Shari and Baguirmi, had accomplished a great cir-

cuit through the Bengue and the Niger. Crampel for his part tried to reach Algeria through Gribingui. This new expedition across a country infested by warlike tribes was a first victory, in which he lost his life, killed by the men of Senussi, at that time King of Libya. There was only one black spot in this picture: Leopold II redeemed the mortgage France held on the Belgian Congo. Brazza himself, with a heavy heart, suggested France renounce her claims in order to avoid being exposed to international complications.

England took advantage of these events in order to reach the Chad, hoping perhaps to cut France off from West Africa. In 1894 negotiations were started, and the border was fixed with the Congo on the one hand and the Cameroons on the other. Thus French access to the Chad was safeguarded. But this whole territory was under the domination of Rabah, a freed slave of a Sudan slave-trader who had proclaimed himself king. The French now had to make war on Rabah who was responsible for Crampel's assassination by the Senussi. Lieutenant Gentil who conducted the first operations obtained the support of the Sultan of Baguere and rapidly reached the Chad. He founded Fort Archambault and put Rabah's troops to flight. Meanwhile, Commandants Lamy and Foureau, setting out from the north, had reached Zinder. In Shari they found the remnants of the Voulet and Chanoine expedition, whose leaders had died tragically in the course of their mission, and gave Rabah battle. The Black chief was killed in an engagement which unfortunately also cost the life of Commandant Lamy. Moll, too, was to succumb, during the campaign which gave France Ouadai.

We have related elsewhere the tragic meeting, on the frontiers of Egyptian Sudan, between Commandant Marchand on his way to the Upper Nile and Sirdar Kitchener, at Fashoda. Despite the imposing forces of the Sirdar, Marchand refused to yield. The French government had to inter-

vene to force him to abandon the Upper Nile. Kitchener left a moving account of his meeting with Marchand, which does full justice to the stoical attitude of the French officer. The present status of Egypt and Morocco developed out of this historic resistance. In 1899 the French and British spheres of influence were delimited and since then they have never been contested.

We have also mentioned that in 1911 France abandoned the *Bec de Canard* and a strip of Congo to Germany, when the Agadir incident was settled. The Treaty of Versailles put an end to this situation.

Today French Equatorial Africa comprises three colonies: the Middle Congo, Ubangi Shari and the Chad, or French Congo. It was by the addition of Gabun, which is still autonomous, that two decrees (February 11th, 1907 and January 15th, 1910) gave final form to the status of the new union. The population of these immense territories numbers only three million. A Pasteur Institute and numerous medical organizations in Brazzaville, Pointe Noire, Libreville and Benghi are engaged in improving the deplorable health conditions of this tropical region where sleeping sickness, trypanosomiasis, trachoma, leprosy, to mention only the most serious diseases, weaken and emaciate the tribes which for forty years have been subjected to France's tutelage. Important results have been achieved in this field. The mortality from trypanosomiasis fell in a few years from 36 to 12½%. Numerous herds of cattle raised in the Chad are progressively moved to the coast for feeding the undernourished tribes, and hundreds of miles of roads have been built.

Priestley has accepted with apparent satisfaction the slanders spread by a few colonial pirates against France's regime of her concessions. In "Across Wildest Africa," an independent English writer stepped into a vipers' nest. It is interesting to note that the few French writers associated with the cam-

paings of hatred organized against France by foreigners with their own axe to grind, have revealed themselves, since the occupation of France by Germany, as zealous collaborators.

French Equatorial Africa is suitable for cotton-raising, and its forests, in which the okoumé tree predominates, have considerable resources for the nascent colony. It will take a long time for Equatorial Africa to realize the numerous reforms which in West Africa have paved the way for the development of the natives along the paths of culture and civilization.

A striking characteristic of French Equatorial Africa is the fact that its conquest was peaceful and carried out by a pioneer backed by the prestige of France, which, for a century, has treated the native tribes humanely. Before France came upon the scene these tribes knew only terror-raids, disease and lingering death.

Equatorial Africa costs France a great deal of money; with Guiana, St. Pierre and Miquelon, this colony imposes an annual burden of forty millions on the French budget, and even today it is not yet self-sufficient. Priestley, who attempts to deprecate imperialism, stresses these expenditures and proclaims loudly that French Equatorial Africa is a colony that does not pay. Despite a long study of our writers and contemporary political figures, he fails to understand that France is proud of helping the backward populations she has taken under her protection. In 1936 she spent about three million dollars for hospitals and similar institutions. This is money well-invested.

SOMALILAND

DURING the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, Ethiopia sent ambassadors to Versailles; later these friendly relations were discontinued until the day when Louis-Philippe acquired a port from the King of Shoa, founder of the Ethiopian Empire. France had no representative there in 1862 when the French vice-consul at Aden, Henri Lambert, who had in mind the projects relative to the Isthmus of Suez, obtained the concession of Obok. A bold diplomat, he hoped to capitalize on these first successes, when he was killed.

Nevertheless France gained a foothold at Obok. This settlement acquired real significance only when England refused France permission to refuel her ships at Aden, during her Tongking expedition.

At Obok France had an extremely active governor, M. Lagarde, who later became a friend of Menelik, successor to the King of Shoa. Lagarde chose Djibouti, an excellent port, for the starting-point of the railroad connecting this port with Addis-Ababa. This was the first time that a French company had built a railroad on foreign territory (except for the ventures in Spain and Turkey).

Menelik was the descendant of a sovereign who, under Louis Philippe, had negotiated with France over the problem

raised by Tadjura. Lagarde easily obtained a concession for M. Chefneuf, a Frenchman, who experienced many setbacks at the beginning of the railroad venture. The capital subscribed was utterly inadequate. The French government granted him an annual subsidy of 500,000 francs which did not cover the interest and amortization of the invested funds. Thus the work had to be stopped when the three hundredth kilometre was reached. After long discussion, Paris realized where its true interests lay and, although the guarantees given by Menelik were insecure, by the end of his reign a network was completed which extended over one thousand kilometres. It is well known that this railroad played an important part during the Italian campaign in Ethiopia and during that country's liberation by British and French soldiers, who once again were fraternally united in a great cause.

The port of Djibouti constitutes a military base of the very first rank; it also handles trade estimated at five hundred million francs a year. The difficulties besetting the Somali Coast are caused by the poverty of this territory which is inadequate to feed the settlers and natives.

Djibouti can live only if regular imports and a regime of governmental subsidies are maintained. Nevertheless it remains a bridgehead on the Indian Ocean and a natural port of call between France's African and Asiatic possessions.

THE INDIAN OCEAN

Send me four doctors and I will send you back four companies.

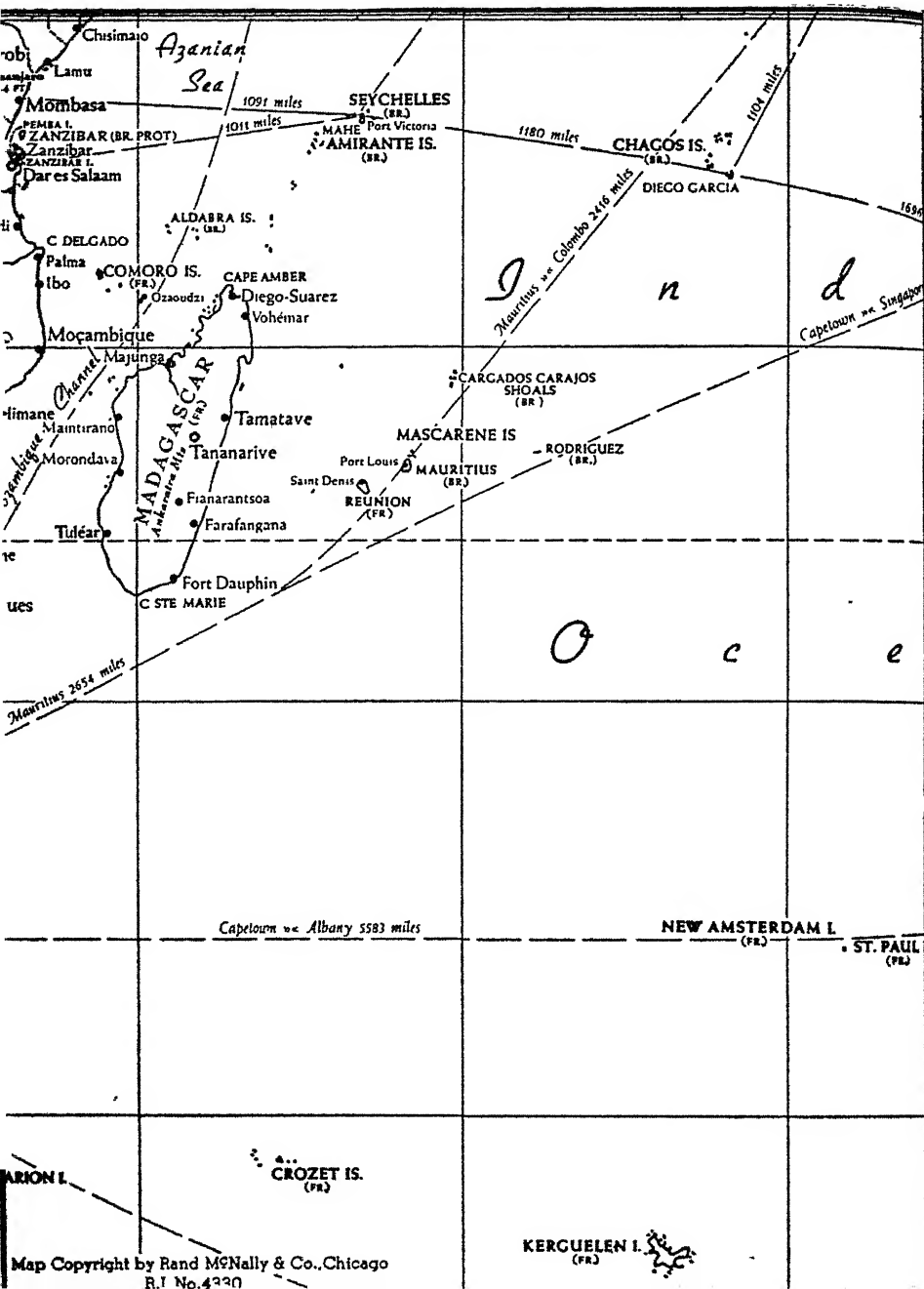
Galliéni

ILE DAUPHINE, today Madagascar, held an important place in Colbert's projects and in the eventful history of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*.

Although from a historical point of view Madagascar is one of France's oldest colonies, like the Antilles, Guiana and Senegal, it does not enjoy the same status; its real conquest dates only from 1895, and for this reason it is considered a modern colony.

In 1815, France abandoned Ile de France to England and retained Bourbon, which during the Revolution was rebaptized Réunion. Farquhar, the British governor of Ile de France, came out with the claim that Ile Dauphine be considered a dependency of Ile de France. The British Cabinet did not support his claim, but this did not prevent him from evacuating only those parts of Madagascar which had been under French rule in 1792, and arousing against France the chief of the Hovas by recognizing him as the undisputed sovereign of all Madagascar. Farquhar also solicited and obtained a protectorate treaty from him.

Louis XVIII relying on England's official attitude decided



to disregard the secret instructions given to Farquhar and sent Sylvain Roux to the Indian Ocean with a formal order to occupy the Island. Roux cast anchor at Sainte-Marie. He had some troops at his disposal and carried in his pocket a commission as Commandant of the French settlements in Madagascar. From Baron Portal he had received a detailed program which he set about executing. He signed agreements with the native chiefs who agreed to co-operate with France. Unfortunately he died while still engaged in this work. Fevers exhausted his troops and it was not until the eve of the Revolution of 1830 that Martignac and Polignac made up their minds to send reinforcements, which easily captured Tamatave. Only the occupation of the coast was intended.

As Louis Philippe did not attempt to colonize the whole island, the Hovas now turned against the British. Queen Ranavalô drove the British missions out of Tananarive and compelled all the Europeans to submit to Madagascan law. The natives who had been converted to the Christian faith were slaughtered. In the course of these episodes France took possession of Mayotte, Nossibe, Nossi-Comba, Nossi-Mitsiou, and Anjuan—all the Comoro Islands.

In the interior of Madagascar, particularly at Tananarive, the French treated the indigenous population on an equal footing, while the British colonists retained a contemptuous attitude toward them, which they expressed in the seemingly correct anodyne term "native." This word has acquired an offensive connotation.

The French quickly won the confidence of Prince Rakoto, and through the intervention of a favorite, also won over the Queen. A certain Laborde, a Gascon adventurer, was so successful that a French developments-company, officially supported by the government, was granted extensive privileges which paved the way for the protectorate. All this time, Methodist missionaries vigorously continued their proselytizing ac-

tivities, creating incidents which, despite their indisputably praiseworthy intention, resulted in the slaughter of Christians, while Europe helplessly looked on.

In 1841 Rakoto inherited the crown and granted the *Compagnie de Madagascar* new advantages which England refused to recognize, although in 1862 she agreed to sign a treaty, according France a privileged position on the Island.

From 1872 on, after the uncertain period following the Franco-Prussian war, France tried to conclude permanent agreements with the Hovas. The vexations to which the Christians were subjected forced the French to threaten Queen Ranavaloa with an ultimatum, but she refused to yield. Jules Ferry ordered an expeditionary corps to seize Tamatave, but once again Parliament refused its approval, retarding the actions of this great Frenchman at every step. Nevertheless the Queen finally yielded and, in everything but name, Madagascar became a French protectorate. Le Myre de Villers, who was appointed Resident, gave orders to occupy the Baie de San Diego, Nossibe and Sainte-Marie. But French troubles were not yet over. In 1895 France had to undertake a real military expedition in order to insure the safety of the Christians. This operation was not successful. As a result of the trying climate, many men were lost on the coast, particularly in the region of Majunga. The capture of Tananarive and the appointment of a civil administrator failed to clarify the situation. The treaty of 1895, which still upheld the fiction of the protectorate, left elements of disorder. By dint of various intrigues, Anglo-Madagascan groups obtained control of the press and undermined the work of the French. Meanwhile Laroche had been appointed Resident-General. He was given a first-rate assistant, Paul Bourde. But the co-existence of the civil and military authorities which had been successful only in Algeria did not bring any positive results here.

France acquired authority to act by proclaiming the an-

nexation of the colony, although the Queen was maintained in power. The ratification of this annexation, by the law of August 6th, 1896, did not create any international difficulties, but the era of intrigues was not yet ended. It took an iron fist to resolve a situation which until this time no one had had the courage to clarify. Once again France was served by a great soldier. The government recalled the exploits of Lieutenant Galliéni in the Sudan; later he had distinguished himself at Tongking. He was now Colonel Galliéni. Before accepting his new responsibilities, he went to study the situation on the spot to determine the underlying causes of the inexplicable unrest in this colony to which France, for long centuries, had offered, along with her collaboration, her methods of gradual fusion. Galliéni's arrival was preceded by an important act. France had taken advantage of her position to abolish slavery, which had disappeared from all her colonies after 1848.

Galliéni immediately realized that the Queen's ministers were betraying him by fomenting anarchy. They were subjected to pitiless military law. The Island was divided into several sections and the local administration completely reorganized. Soon, all the tribes submitted to the new regime, except the Sakalaves, who being of Indian races, claimed to be British subjects.

After the disappearance of her ministers, Queen Ranavaloa, herself, began to conspire. Galliéni, who did not trust her, proclaimed her deposed. From then on, he assumed the functions of Governor General and thoroughly reformed the administration of the Island, whose territory, it must be remembered, is larger than that of France.

The greatest difficulties arose from the activities of the foreign religious missions. The latter's attitude, for the respectable interests of religious propaganda, should have been favorable to France, but in fact was completely anti-French. Then the Jesuits began to struggle with the Protestant missions and

this created more disorder. Galliéni did not shrink from threatening all the instigators of unrest with the dissolution of their orders and associations. From then on, the missions resumed their activity on a purely religious basis, excluding all politics.

This series of firm and consistent decisions insured Galliéni's success. He did more: he broke the feudal power which the Hovas held over the other tribes. The most elaborate reforms were carried out. Thus, taxes are collected by a different method in each region, in accordance with age-old customs. The former mining concessions granted by the Hovas in contempt of all law were ruthlessly annulled. A new land holding regime was instituted; roads, railways, everything was started at once. Galliéni also made a great effort to organize public health in this country which is undermined by fevers.

His success would have been rapid if he had not relied too much on the former soldiers of the expeditionary corps, who were now settlers, full of good will but rarely industrious and entirely deprived of the means of action.

The task of his successors was easier. They followed the example of the recently acquired African colonies and expedited the work of actual colonization: native schools, public works, accession of the natives to government, all followed.

Since 1921 the governing body has included Madagascans. They also occupy an important place in the economic and financial committees which complement the governing body. These committees are under the government.

The Kerguelen Islands, a natural dependency of Madagascar, formerly the "land of desolation" described by Cook, still harbor only whalers. All attempts to raise cattle there since the annexation of 1894 have failed. Nor are there cattle on the Comoro Islands whose population is relatively numerous; these islands were in the past colonized by Semites. Since they have been united under a French protectorate, they have done a comparatively important trade.

YELLOW HORIZONS

INDO-CHINA'S PAST

INDO-CHINA, with twenty-one million inhabitants in the eastern part of the peninsula, scattered over a territory larger than France itself, is a whole world. Many races cover this land, but the dominant one is the Annamite which numbers fifteen million people and occupies the entire eastern side of the country, the plains and the delta. The Cambodians and the Thais of Laos are the only people in Indo-China who are related to the Southern Chinese and the Siamese; their territory extends as far as the forest of Tongking. The Man, the Meho and the Moi live in the mountains. Two civilizations have clashed in this peninsula. The western part of it is dominated by Indian culture, the eastern by Chinese civilization, as a result of the conquest of Tongking by China. The aborigines are not Chinese—Pearl Buck and her followers, please take note. This Chinese influence has spread to the south, carried by the Annamese.

At the beginning of the Christian era, a great empire, Champa, covered a region extending from Cochin-China to north of Tourane. Its inhabitants had a refined Indian civilization; they were famous throughout Asia for their skill in farming. Their powerful craft sailed in foreign waters. Their whole land was covered with magnificent temples and statues of

Hindu gods. The Annamites, who were then still in a state of barbarism, made war upon the Cham and crushed them; only a few isolated Cham remain today.

At the same period another Hindu state, Fou-Nnam, extended its possessions westward and held Cambodia as a vassal. In the sixth century Then-Ha (Cambodia) finally won its independence; and with it there began a period of considerable prosperity. The palaces of Angkor date from this time; they were of Hindu inspiration, not Khmer.

The Khmer kings held the country under their domination until the fifteenth century when they were driven out. Then Cambodia began a hopeless struggle against its enemies on the East and the West; Annamese and Siamese. If the French, whom they called upon in the nineteenth century, had not intervened and established their protectorate, Cambodia would have been devoured. Indian civilization did not stop in Cambodia. It spread to the Thais and to the Laotians who owe to India their alphabet, their Buddhist faith, their monasteries and their social organization. There is no trace of China in these enormous territories. China made itself felt only in Tongking.

When the lords of the Celestial Empire invaded Tongking, in the second century before Christ, the Annamese were a savage tribe, tattooed, armed with arrows, primitive cultivators of the land. For two and a half centuries, the Chinese respected their institutions and traditions; but in about the year 44 A.D. General Ma-Yuan levied the first tributes upon these people, subjected them to brutal Chinese oppression and made out of Tongking a province which lasted for one thousand years. The Mandarins introduced Chinese rites and methods of administration; the local organizations were destroyed. Only in 980 was Annam able to shake off this intolerable yoke by dint of heroic action.

Now it was the turn of the Annamese to inaugurate a policy

of conquest. This made them masters of Champa whose population they systematically destroyed in the course of centuries. By the fifteenth century the Champa empire was reduced to extinction. When the French officers of the *Galatea* approached its shores in 1720, they went to pay their respects to its unhappy sovereign. He received them humbly in the shadow of an imposing Annamese mandarin. Cochinchina was also conquered, piece by piece. The Annamese took possession of Mekong in the seventeenth century. This conquest was pursued up to the coast of Siam. It resulted in a mixture of races so complex that today it is difficult to discover which is the trunk of this tree whose branches are so varied.

As the centuries progressed the Annamese, although of barbaric origin, began to worship knowledge—a cult which they owe to the Chinese. Their religion is full of Confucianism, although Taoism has also crept into it in the form of the Buddhist rite which they observe. Their *Lî* code places the “pater familias” at the summit of the social pyramid. The administration of the notables is presided over by the Mandarins. This administration was to be preserved by the French. From its principles, stems the ancestor-worship performed in the *dinh*. The communal and family autonomy were limited by the absolute power of the king.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the population was decimated by continual wars; from this period the Annamese people have retained their pride in having been able to resist Chinese domination under all the Annamese dynasties, the Trinh and the Nguyen, and under the cruel dictatorship of Gia Lung. During the reign of the latter the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch and the English developed their greatest activity on the peninsula.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Japanese boats appeared beside the Chinese junks; their incursion was short-lived. The Nipponese had sailed as far as the lagoon of Hué

and Fai-Fo, which latter city they partially conquered and rebuilt, against the will of the King of Cochin-China. But in 1636 these intrusions ended, leaving the way clear to the Portuguese.

As early as 1515 the Portuguese had been represented in Siam by an embassy sent by the Duke of Albuquerque. Fernand Perez, Coelho and Antonio Faria had explored the coasts of the peninsula. Their expeditions took advantage of the wars between Arakan, Pegou, Siam and Cambodia, to penetrate into the interior; but their religious missions clashed with a solidly rooted Buddhist faith. The Spanish Dominicans who had established themselves in Manila were no more successful. While Cambodia was a hospitable land, the sovereigns of Siam subjected European prisoners to the most horrible tortures.

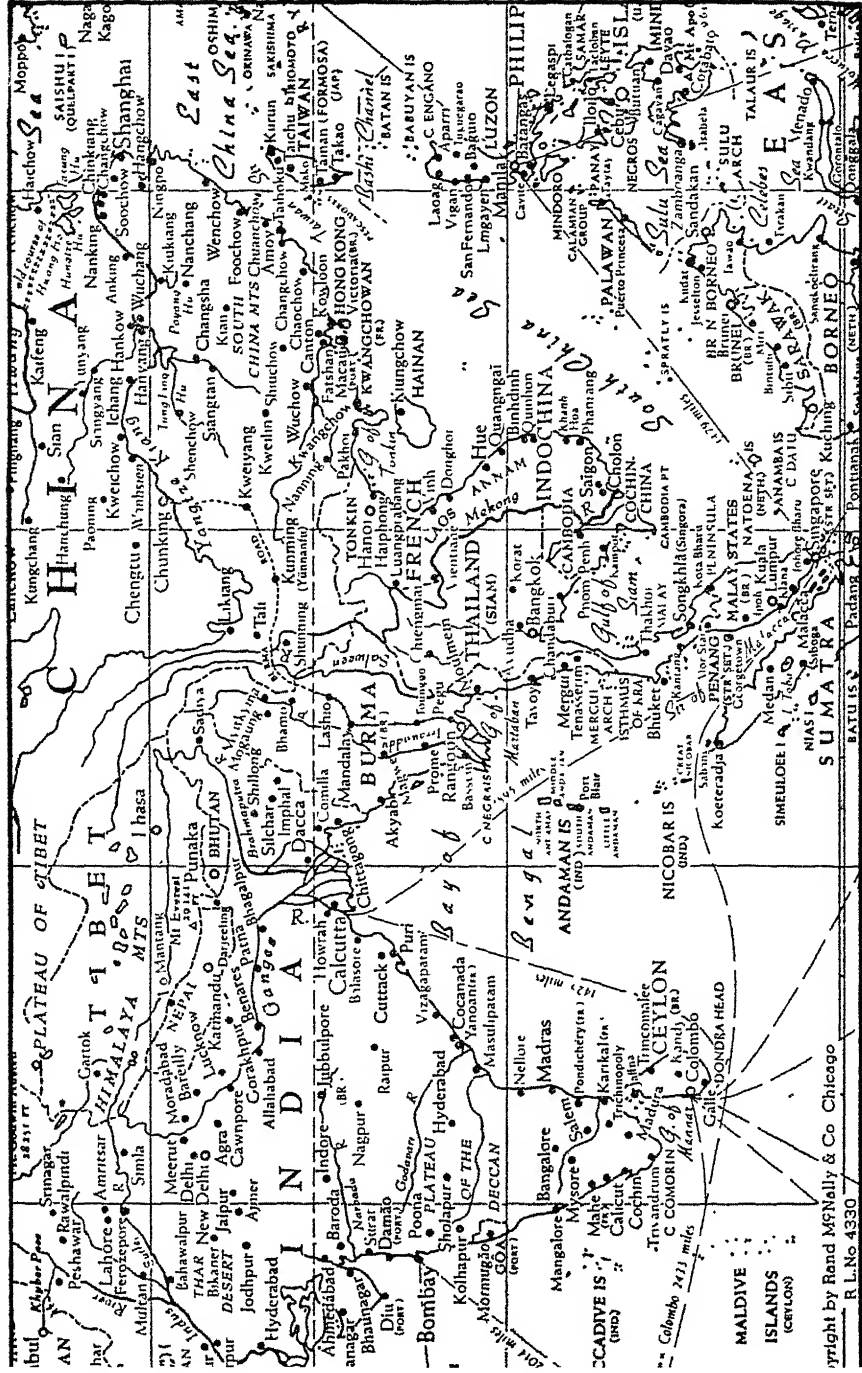
Two conquistadores, the Portuguese Diego Bellosa and the Spanish Blas Ruyz de Hernan Gonzales, became the favorites of the King of Cambodia. Reverend Father Antonio has given a racy account of their adventures. First they assassinated the usurper on the Cambodian throne and, after having fled, brought back from the jungle the son of the legitimate king who had died in the interval. It was in the course of their first expedition that they performed these deeds of valor. Their second voyage was less fortunate. They had only two hundred sailors at their disposal. They met their death in this adventure, whereupon Philip III renounced the idea of conquering Cambodia. In the meantime, the religious orders which were established in Macao tried to spread the gospel in Annam, aided by Father Alexander of Rhodes.

The Dutch and the English pursued more lucrative ends. The representatives of two Oriental companies, formed in London and Amsterdam, presented themselves in humble fashion to the Asiatic princes whose protection they sought for their warehouses. There were no gospels in their baggage.

They prostrated themselves before the King of Siam, having heard that the Portuguese emissaries who had preceded them and had refused to perform this type of homage had been impaled. The British Company established itself at Fai-Fo, but its representatives, in their turn, were murdered (1613).

Neither the British nor the Dutch Company, which lost several ships in this adventure, managed to win a firm foothold in Cochin-China. But the Amsterdam merchants did establish themselves for some time on the Red River, at Hung-Yen. Following several massacres and the inevitable reprisals, Holland renounced Annam. Gerard de Wusthof followed the Mekong as far as Vieng-Chan in 1641. Laos is the only region where the Dutch managed to sell their merchandise after overcoming innumerable difficulties. No sooner had Wusthof returned to Cambodia, than he learned that his ambassador, who had come from Batavia, and the merchants with him, had been assassinated. A Dutch squadron put in at Pnom-Penh, intending to complete a punitive expedition; but the warehouse they finally established was pillaged and reduced to ashes very soon after. From that moment they abandoned all their plans for the economic conquest of the peninsula and took possession of the Portuguese and Spanish settlements further south. Only the English succeeded in occupying the island of Pulo-Condore for a certain period.

France was now about to come upon the scene; she would find the territory free of any European mortgage.



INDO-CHINA

FRANCE discovered the Far East later than the other powers. The Levant, America and the Indies absorbed her attention. After two hundred years of brave exploits, the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the English had given up the game. The Dutch, who were the last to arrive, definitely abandoned the idea of conquering Indo-China at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The vast delta of the Mekong with its inexhaustible resources, the broken coast of Annam with its enormous hinterland, Tongking washed by the Red River, had not yet tempted any European nations.

Annam, buttressed in the east by lofty mountains and facing the remains of a magnificent Indian civilization, and Tongking, where the influence of China still made itself felt even though its domination had disappeared in the tenth century, still maintained mandarins and were subjected to a certain amount of direction from the Celestial Empire. The masters of Cochin-China and those of Cambodia, both prey to the constant incursions and intermittent overlordship of Siam, were either destroyed or conquered, one after another. Actually, the Thai people and the Annamese had been reduced to slavery for centuries by the tyrants of the west and the north and had never been able to shake off their bondage.

It was Father Alexander of Rhodes who in 1625, after a long sojourn in Cochin-China and Tongking, drew the attention of Versailles to these regions and held up before the eyes of the King's ministers the shimmering vision of unexploited riches. Two French priests, François Pallu and Father Lambert de la Motte, had proposed to the Vatican that they evangelize Annam. They created the Society of Foreign Missions. As so often happens, these missions soon sheltered a commercial company which, under the name of the China Society, planned to establish economic relations with Annam, but its plans hung fire. A vessel chartered by the Society sailed off at the last moment and the French bishops were left behind to undertake alone a long pilgrimage which, by a detour across Persia and India, brought them to the apostolic vicarate of Tongking and Cochin-China. These formed part of the diocese of Malacca.

The East Indies Company, from its observation-post in Surat, had for a long time wished to prospect in Siam. Thanks to one of the Siamese king's councillors, Phaulkon, a personage who was thought to be of Greek origin and who feared the influence of the Dutch, relations were established between Siam and France. Monseigneur Pallu was given an important mission by Louis XIV. A magnificent Gobelins tapestry commemorated the picturesque visit of the Siamese ambassadors to Versailles. Alas, once more proselytism played a trick on the French. Some of the missionaries tried to convert the King. The influence of Phaulkon who had introduced the French to the court collapsed immediately and the military mission had to return home.

During this period, the East Indies Company, which was more far-sighted, was drawing up its own plans and several years later established a warehouse at Hung-Yen on the Red River. Actually it had its eye on Pulo-Condore, but the English had a solid hold there. In 1722 Dupleix sent agents to

Annam and Pierre Poivre, the bearer of a letter from the King of France to the Emperor of Annam, took this opportunity to found a settlement at Fai-Fo. The loss of India and the collapse of the Company's monopoly put an end to these brilliant beginnings.

Half a century passed and once more a priest gave France an opportunity to win a foothold at Hué. Bishop Pierre Pigneau de Béhaine gave refuge to Nguyen-Anh, a prince of Annam who had been driven from his throne. The bishop then went to Versailles and demanded troops, which were refused him. On the return voyage to Annam he found in the Mascarene Islands and at Pondichéry, Frenchmen who were willing to take their chances and, with a handful of men, fought to the death at the side of the prince. Two years later Nguyen-Anh recovered the throne of his ancestors and, under the name of Gia-Long, reigned until 1801. He did not forget that he owed his crown to Frenchmen; but it was not until 1817 that Bordeaux shipowners understood the advantages of this situation. Assured of the support of the Duke of Richelieu, they went to Hué and signed a treaty of friendship and alliance with the rulers of Annam. This treaty was short-lived, for the King died soon after and his successor expelled the French mission in 1824.

Baron de Bougainville took the road to Hué in 1825, but was refused an audience by the King. The tendency of the commercial missions to associate themselves with evangelizing had alienated the Annamese princes, who were determined to obstruct at any cost the new religious influence which was beginning to penetrate into the Empire of Annam. Nevertheless, the seeds were sown and when Lagréné, at the head of a naval mission, failed to obtain an appropriate port for France in China, as he hoped to do following the Treaty of Nanking which had given Hong-Kong to England, and decided to turn the fleet commanded by Admiral Cecile southward to pro-

tect French religious concessions in Tongking, the hour of conquest seemed to have struck. But he clashed with the implacable will of Guizot who refused to support another crusade. At this point French missionaries in Annam found themselves in danger and it was decided too late to send them assistance. The result was a massacre of the Christians in 1852.

Now in 1849, Cambodia, threatened once more by Siam, and Siam itself, which was frightened by England's activity in Burma, called upon France for help. Napoleon III was then busy in the Crimea and lent only an inattentive ear to this unhopèd-for invitation. Nevertheless, he instructed the French consul at Shanghai to begin negotiations with Bangkok and to secure guarantees for French religious establishments from Annam and Cambodia. Despite England's opposition, Montigny obtained a commercial treaty with Siam in 1855. France set up consulates there. But this was a fatal mistake. The French agreement with Siam, the hereditary enemy of Cambodia, closed the door of the latter kingdom to her. The King refused to receive the French consul and the arrival of the latter at Tourane coincided with the bombardment of the port by a French squadron under the leadership of Admiral Rigault de Genouilly. Spain was associated with France in this expedition. Its missions which, in agreement with the Black Flags, were later to fight France so bitterly, were, at this point, just as much in danger as the French and sought French protection.

French troops took possession of Tourane, but hesitated to go as far as Hué. Yet here was an opportune moment to install the Annamese princes in Hanoi. France abandoned this idea, however, and turned her eyes toward Saigon and its rice fields. Tourane was evacuated and France established troops in Saigon. In 1860 peace was signed with China. Admiral Charner, strongly entrenched in Cochin-China, took possession of Bien-Hoa and Vinh-Long. The three provinces of Saigon, Bien-Hoa

and My-Tho, as well as the island of Pulo-Condore, fell under French protection, with the ports of Tourane, Quang-An and Ba-lac open to French commerce and the Catholic religion accepted in Annam.

The Empire of Annam was at that time torn by severe internal struggles. The Mandarin of Tongking demanded French aid against the court of Hué. Upon refusal, Annam assumed a hostile attitude towards the Mandarin, while things became more and more difficult in Cochin-China. Just as at the time of the first complications in Algeria, some groups in France clamored for the abandonment of the project. At first sight their thesis seemed reasonable. It is normal that the Ibero-Ligurians, a white race which lives in Barbary, should have become assimilated and merged with other whites under the beneficent impact of civilization; it is plausible that the Negroes of Africa and the Antilles should have become attached, after a century, to those who have brought them prosperity, hygiene and culture, and have constantly shown respect for their race and a desire to improve their lot; but it is another question whether a yellow race can adapt itself to a European civilization. Nevertheless, France, whose protection was clamored for by the unhappy populations of Cochin-China and Cambodia, once more felt the crusading spirit arise within her. Because of the Catholic policy pursued by the Emperor, the cabinet conceived the whole operation in its religious aspect, rather than as a colonial project. Admiral Grandière remained at his post from 1863 to 1868 and secured from the King of Cambodia a treaty placing that country under French protection so that it might once and for all escape the annexationist aims of Siam. Siam, on the other hand, agreed to sign the Franco-Siamese treaty of 1867 only on condition that France recognize her rights to the territories torn from Cambodia at an earlier date: Batkambang, Angkor and Laos. France occupied other regions threatened

by Annam, and Cochin-China was given an administrative regime which lasted ten years.

Returning to her old tradition, France tried not to change anything, even to preserve the mandarinat; only when confronted with the intrigues of certain mandarins against French authority, which they hoped to undermine, did France break with them. Inspectors of native affairs were put in their place but, as in Africa, on the basis of the patriarchal administration. Thus, Annamese life remained unchanged and communal life as well. But here, as elsewhere, the French gradually educated the people to the separation of powers, the only guarantee of the proper administration of justice, which must not be amalgamated with the executive power as it is everywhere in the Orient.

This was the key to the success of Admiral de la Grandière, but his work was not well understood in Paris. M. le Myre de Villers was appointed Resident and was told to proceed with the task of assimilation, an unrealizable objective in a land of yellow civilization. Fortunately, the new Resident was a cautious man. But, having been given formal instructions, he reorganized the colony along different lines than those so felicitously indicated by Admiral de la Grandière. It is true that a Colonial Council counter-balanced this brutal action; Frenchmen and natives had almost equal powers in it and it controlled the finances of Cochin-China.

Unfortunately this new organ abused its powers and the settlers abused their freedom. Only one fortunate decision, destined to give the whole country confidence in the future, was taken. From 1881 on, Cochin-China was permitted to send a deputy to Paris. After that French policy began to emphasize respect for the traditions of the country and its people. A certain amount of useful machinery emerged out of the new system. The maladjustments decreased and the native population began to furnish France with contingents of troops under

French officer cadres. The first results of French effort were the suppression of serfdom and of Chinese family collectivism. Abuses, especially tax abuses, were severely prosecuted. In brief, the French colonial policy was a quite new one, rather general and, in the beginning, inexperienced. In spite of all difficulties, France hoped to find in Saigon the key-stone of an empire. England had taken the lion's share for herself in China, and had aroused in France ambitions very different from those which led to the building of her African possessions.

It was Francis Garnier's book, "French Cochinchina," which inspired all the projects of the day. At the request of the author, the Minister of the Navy, Count de Chasseloup-Laubat, gave him a mission to explore the Mekong River of which France already held the delta. With Doudart de Lagrée as Chief of Mission, Garnier went to Yunnan after having explored, despite great difficulties, not only the Mekong up to the point where it was no longer navigable, but also the different paths offered by the Red River. De Lagrée died on the way, but Garnier returned with his head full of information and his soul full of great dreams. He proposed that France should immediately extend her protectorate to Tongking, and at that point things became complicated. A young Frenchman, just as bold as Garnier but without official status, Jean Dupuis, had established himself at Hanoi and had gone up the Red River as far as Lao-Kay. He sold arms and a Chinese marshal had established contact with him. Following the river, protected by a French officer, he had penetrated into a region where the pirates had held sway for a century. This caused great excitement at the Court of Hué which demanded of Admiral Dupré that he order Jean Dupuis to abandon Tongking. The Admiral, realizing the possible advantages of the situation and not wishing to compromise his government, sent Garnier there as a courier. The latter saw the situation's po-

tentialities at a glance. The religious orders encouraged him to act. On his own initiative, he declared that navigation on the river was free and sent an ultimatum to the fortress of Hanoi: disarm or surrender. When the mandarin refused, with a handful of men and against seven thousand well-armed defenders, Garnier took the place by storm; then, aided by a few young officers as brave as himself, he made himself master of the region in a few days, appointed new mandarins and called upon the Annamese population to support him. Five thousand volunteers flocked to his colors. He was about to sign a treaty establishing a French protectorate when he was ambushed and murdered. Within a few weeks a province of two million inhabitants had submitted without opposition to this conqueror who, almost without striking a blow, had seized the reins of government.

Unfortunately, the de Broglie ministry, fearful of the almost certain opposition of England, abandoned Garnier's work and without hesitation renounced all the gains he had achieved. Admiral Dupré himself had not the courage to defend Garnier's legacy. A second-rate functionary who enjoyed the confidence of the Court of Hué was sent to the scene. No sooner was Jean Dupuis expelled from Hanoi, than France's Christian Annamese friends found themselves in a dangerous position. The ministry abandoned within a few weeks a people who had freely given themselves to France in order to escape the rule of hated mandarins. The logical consequences developed very quickly. Annam denounced its treaties with France and called upon the Emperor of China to help her. Encouraged by this, China refused to recognize the treaty of 1874; fortunately, Gambetta, who succeeded de Broglie, did not hesitate to pick up the gauntlet. His energetic attitude toward the Chinese pirates who had been encouraged to pillage these regions and torment the peaceful population, gave pause to the Chinese government.

Commandant Rivière again took possession of Hanoi, in spite of the feeble effectives at his disposal, and occupied the delta, but against him were a large army and the strongly organized Black Flags. Nevertheless Rivière decided to "establish himself firmly in Tongking and to affirm to all the world our intention of remaining there." (Jules Ferry)

The debate in the Chamber on this subject was extremely violent. Just as the vote was about to be taken the sad news of the death of Commandant Rivière reached the Deputies, who without a moment's delay unanimously granted the necessary credits. A contingent of three thousand troops was dispatched to Tongking, and Doctor Harmand, a comrade of Francis Garnier's, was named Commissioner-General at Hanoi. A new protectorate treaty was signed with Annam and a Resident appointed at Hué. This was only the beginning of the struggle. The masters of Tongking organized themselves for a modern war.

Admiral Courbet was given command both of French land and sea forces. A ferocious campaign was now organized against Jules Ferry. It must not be forgotten that Clemenceau identified his policy with that of England which, inspired at this period "by jingoistic and blind leaders, wished to obstruct the expansion of France in the Far East." This was the continuation of the policy which, in 1870, had permitted Prussia to crush France. Twenty years later all the far-sightedness of Edward VII was necessary to substitute for this blind attitude, the Entente Cordiale.

Be that as it may, Jules Ferry, braving opponents both within and without, declared to the Chamber: "A country cannot grow if it hesitates before the slightest difficulties." Tuduc, the Emperor of Annam, by now understood the strength of the guarantees implicit in French protection. Courbet occupied Sontay. Annam bowed definitively in 1884. The treaty which followed established a sharp distinction be-

tween the two protectorates. In Annam the age-old administration was respected, the mandarins remained. France took possession only of the customs house and sent engineers to develop a program of roads and railways. In Tongking, on the other hand, where the mandarins had inspired the murder of Francis Garnier, despoiled Jean Dupuis, and massacred the Tongking Christians, the French installed residents and those Annamese functionaries who refused to help them were dismissed from their posts. The régime was also modified from the fiscal point of view.

China did not give up the struggle. Her pirates, the Black Flags, were reinforced by regular Chinese troops. Then, and only then, did Generals Brière de L'Isle and Negrier arrive at the head of a division; they took possession of Bac-Ninh, Hung-Hoa and Tuyen-Quan. China immediately indicated her readiness to sign at Tientsin a treaty recognizing the French protectorate and to withdraw her troops. A deplorable incident started blood flowing anew. During the negotiations Admiral Courbet had destroyed the Chinese fleet and the Arsenal of Foochow. The French were obliged to blockade the export of rice in reprisal for England's refusal to allow them to supply their fleet in her ports. China again besieged Tuyen-Quan. French troops marched upon Lang-Son, took the city and were preparing to raise the siege of Tuyen-Quan, when General de Negrier was wounded and his adjutant, without consulting him, ordered a premature retreat.

The opposition transformed Lang-Son into a disaster. Clemenceau overthrew Jules Ferry.

But the very day Ferry fell, China signed the peace treaty. The struggle against the Black Flags and the Annamese rebels went on for another year. Finally pacification was achieved and Paul Bert left for Indo-China where he was to accomplish a great work.

、THE INDO-CHINESE UNION

It took France fifteen years to pacify and organize Annam, conquer Upper Tongking from the Black Flags and finally reach an understanding with China about the frontiers and the arrangements necessary for the construction of the railroad into Yunnan. The realization of this program was made all the more difficult by the parsimony with which the Mother Country gave her representatives the necessary means of action: military contingents for pacification, credits necessary for administrative reorganization, the conquest of Laos and the long and delicate negotiations—they are always long and delicate in the Far East—with Siam, while England completed the conquest of Burma.

In Annam the rebels, rallying around a king de-throned and hidden in the forest, did not resist for long. In 1885 this king surrendered and the Hué dynasty was no longer disputed. Ever since then, France has collaborated with the Emperor on a basis of mutual confidence made easier by the fact that a part of the Imperial family has been converted to Christianity.

In Upper Tongking the pirates continued their age-old incursions, devastations and assassinations.

Before the organization of the Ministry of Colonies in 1894

nothing definite could be obtained or realized. Nevertheless, in 1891, M. de Lanessan, a former Minister of the Navy, then Resident-General in Indo-China, divided Upper Tongking into military districts so that Colonel Gallièni might apply to Indo-China the fruits of his long experience in the Sudan, where for years he had fought against elusive, almost invisible enemies. In Tongking he soon measured himself against the most redoubtable of the pirates, the De Tham, and in 1896, after three years of campaigning, crushed him.

China, defeated by Japan, sued for peace. It was Europe which once more had saved her. This was the first time Europe snatched her from the claws of Nippon. Germany took advantage of the situation to seize Kiaowchow and Russia took possession of Port Arthur. England, already installed at Hong-Kong, took Wei-Hei-wei. Kwangchowan was given to France, which demanded a road for peaceful penetration in the form of a railroad into the province of Yunnan. The disorders in China did not cease until, after the siege of Peking, the great powers punished the Boxers as they deserved for having endangered their legations.

Siam took advantage of all this unrest to invade Laos with the intention of establishing herself at Luang-Prabang. She was no longer content with the tribute she had always exacted from the innocent population. At Luang-Prabang France had a vice-consul named Pavie, a modest official of the Telegraph and Post Office Department who, in the course of his work, stringing telegraph lines, had discovered in himself the soul of an explorer. He had drawn up maps of the enormous region which extends beyond Annam and Tongking along the Western slopes of the Annamese Mountains. Thanks to him, the junction between the Mekong, which irrigates all of Laos, and Tongking had been realized. Eye-witness of all the tribute exacted by Siam and the cruel treatment accorded the people of Laos by the Siamese representatives, he had constituted him-

self the unofficial protector of the whole region. His popularity was so great that Siam offered him an agreement maintaining the status quo. But the mission we sent to the scene could see that Bangkok flouted all the clauses of the treaty. In spite of his influence on the King, to whom the French government had accredited him as Minister, Pavie could not obtain the necessary guarantees. It was only in consequence of a virtual ultimatum that Siam signed the treaty of 1893 by which she definitively renounced the left bank of the Mekong and recognized the sovereignty of Annam.

The port of Chantaboun was to be the pledge of this new agreement. In 1904 and 1907 Siam gave up her rights to Luang-Prabang and the right bank of the Mekong, and restored to Cambodia the provinces she had torn from her. (A treaty wrested from Cambodia under pressure from Japan, has just given these provinces back to Siam, for a very short time we are sure. France returned the port of Chantaboun.) Thus, without firing a single shot and thanks to the unassuming M. Pavie, Laos was given to France.

When Paul Bert arrived in Annam in 1886 he applied to its people the traditional policy of France, based on respect for the past and for tradition, for patriarchal life, religious convictions and local customs. He organized a Council of Notables and founded the Tongkingese Academy of which the function was to designate mandarins and to train men of letters. He had the Annamese dialect taught on an equal basis with French. Chambers of Commerce and agricultural, industrial and commercial committees completed the structure of the country. River steamboats began to be used for trade and travel on the Red River.

Unfortunately, Paul Bert died at the end of 1886 and his work was not taken up again until much later, after the incumbency of less intuitive Residents whose rule caused the French many painful disappointments. They applied in a bru-

tal and unimaginative fashion administrative regulations purely French in character.

Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam and Tongking, which till then had been under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were now attached to the Ministries of Colonies and the Navy and together formed French Indo-China. A Governor-General, assisted by Generals-Resident, undertook the administration of this enormous territory with a separate Governor-General for Cochin-China. Each state had an independent budget. Only the customs revenues, military expenses and expenditures for the Telegraph and Postal Departments were centralized in the general budget of the colony. This proved to be only a temporary solution, unacceptable to rich Cochin-China. The general budget was soon abolished and was not re-established until twenty years later.

The Governor-Generalship of M. de Lanessan was marked by the introduction of reforms in Cambodia, after three years of resistance by a monarch fanatically attached to the feudal system. Annam and Tongking were re-organized and soon adapted themselves with very good grace to modern methods and a stable financial system. Laos lived on subsidies from the other colonies of the Indo-Chinese Union. In Cochin-China, a rich and prosperous country, the milch-cow of the Union, the Colonial Council tolerated too long, perhaps, a regime of extravagance which the settlers and the natives were unwilling, quite justifiably, to endure indefinitely.

The arrival of Paul Doumer in 1897 finally gave Indo-China a definitive administrative structure, really united the colony and set its people on the path of progress. He was in power for five years and owed his success to direct action and carefully planned centralization. "To govern everywhere and administer nowhere is the task of the Governor-General," he said. Thus he voluntarily renounced his administrative functions in Tongking and successfully demanded that a Resident

be named for this protectorate. The Superior Council of Indo-China which had long been dormant was revitalized. French administrators and the presidents of chambers of commerce and agriculture represented the mother country and the colony on this body; two mandarins were nominated to it by the native population. The Superior Council prepared and checked the budget and federal reforms. Cochinchina continued to protest against the excessive taxes imposed upon her to raise the general tax fund. The excises on opium, alcohol and salt were the chief resources of the budget. Fortunately, the opium traffic and its contribution to the tax fund were suppressed by the Treaty of Versailles.

Other more important changes were introduced. The Resident of Tongking replaced the mandarin who formerly fulfilled the same functions. As in Morocco, French comptrollers collaborated with the provincial mandarins. Direct taxes were collected by the French authorities. These reforms were also applied to the civil and financial administration of Annam. In Cambodia, the Resident became in effect the Chairman of the King's Council. Laos was also placed under a Resident-General. As in Morocco, public works and education were given precedence; all the reforms applied to Indo-China.

A School of Medicine was inaugurated in which the native population took its place in the front rank. The development of the public school system was principally due to Governor Beau. He it was who created the French schools in the Far East. M. Albert Sarraut put the finishing touches on this work in 1911. Important hydraulic engineering projects were undertaken to increase the output of rice which in 1936 reached an annual production of seven million quintals.

The Supreme Council became the Government Council. M. Sarraut's whole policy was based, as he put it, "on the principles of association and the honorable and sincere exercise of

our protectorate". An Inspector-General of Labor consolidated the social work begun by the preceding regimes; the communal and judiciary organization was completed by the presence of a mandarin on the tribunal. Now only one thing remained to be accomplished: close bonds of association between the lower colonial functionaries and the local mandarins to whom tradition and the dominant culture gave a prestige which it was to our advantage to maintain. We knew that the two races would collaborate in their common interest only if the regime were thoroughly modernized and the colony prosperous. To attain this result it was necessary to convince the population of the efficiency of the methods which had proved their worth in other parts of the Empire. They had to feel themselves that we were making "good use of the resources of Indo-China for the development of its riches and its power".

The just distribution of taxes among the provinces and villages and the elimination of the old-time privileges which exempted the upper classes from personal taxes, helped a great deal to spread French ideas and create a healthy atmosphere. The natives saw that the taxes they paid now reached the treasury instead of remaining in the pockets of the mandarins.

The results are there for all to see. From 1897 to 1903, to cite only one figure, personal income taxes, paid, rose from seventy-one thousand one hundred fifty eight to eighty-two thousand five hundred piastres in Annam alone. Salt taxes increased three thousand per cent in the space of five years. The credit of the colony improved to such a point that the last bond issues were offered to the public at three per cent. The intellectual and scientific equipment of Indo-China has been very considerably extended: a School of Public Works, a radio and telegraphic system, the Scientific Institute of Saigon and a record service are some of the many reforms due to the broad program developed by M. Albert Sarraut. The Eco-

nomic Agency of Indo-China in Paris established close ties between Indo-Chinese producers and European consumers.

The lot of the natives has been much improved during the last twenty years by the granting of pensions to the widows and orphans of Annamese, Cambodian, Laotian and Cochinese soldiers, by the establishment of provincial hospitals, the creation of the Ophthalmological Institute of Hanoi, the organization of rural mail delivery, the development of native tribunals and the standardization of higher education through the creation of complementary, secondary and higher certificates. Completion of the primary course is rewarded by the certificate of elementary Franco-native studies; the secondary course gives the natives a diploma certifying that they have completed their studies. Finally, the "lycée" of Hanoi gives its graduates the bachelor's degree. To sum up the progress that has been made, let us recall that in 1939 four hundred fifty thousand children attended twenty thousand Franco-native schools.

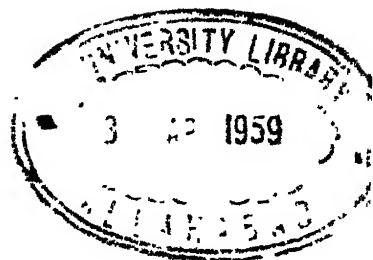
The economic progress of the Union is expressed in the following figures: Fourteen thousand kilometres of roads, twenty-four hundred kilometres of railroads, two billion francs worth of export and import trade, one hundred thousand sick persons hospitalized at the expense of the Union, stabilization of the piastre on a basis of six hundred fifty-five milligrams of gold at a standard of nine hundred-thousandths, a balanced budget of one hundred two million piastres. Capital invested: two billion francs, production of one million tons of coal, twenty thousand tons of rubber. In brief, France made out of many kingdoms, formerly governed by despots and prey for centuries to the incursions and depredations of Siam and the Black Flags, perpetually devastated by war, "a rich modern busy state, equipped with railroads and great ports", a state menaced at this moment by the Japanese but which one hopes will soon live again.

CHINA

As a result of the Convention of 1844 France received in Shanghai, next to the International Concession occupied by Great Britain, a quarter in which she established commercial houses, churches, hospitals and schools, under the direction of a mixed municipality presided over by a French consul. The rights and obligations of this commune were reaffirmed in 1862. It is criss-crossed with ninety-two kilometres of streets and roads. Opposite its municipal school, it shelters an autonomous university which belongs to the Jesuits and a commercial and judicial institute.

Kwangchowan is another possession in China. It is at the gateway of Indo-China on the Tongking frontier, and was ceded to France by the Celestial Empire when Russia established herself at Port Arthur and England took possession of Hong-Kong. France has constructed one hundred thirty-five kilometres of roads at Kwangchow and improved the ports of Fort-Bayard and Che-Kan. The Albert Sarraut College gives Franco-Annamese and Franco-Chinese courses. Justice is administered by a Peace Tribunal and a mixed Tribunal. The lowest court is supervised by a Chinese magistrate. For the moment this territory is in the hands of the Japanese.

OCEANIA

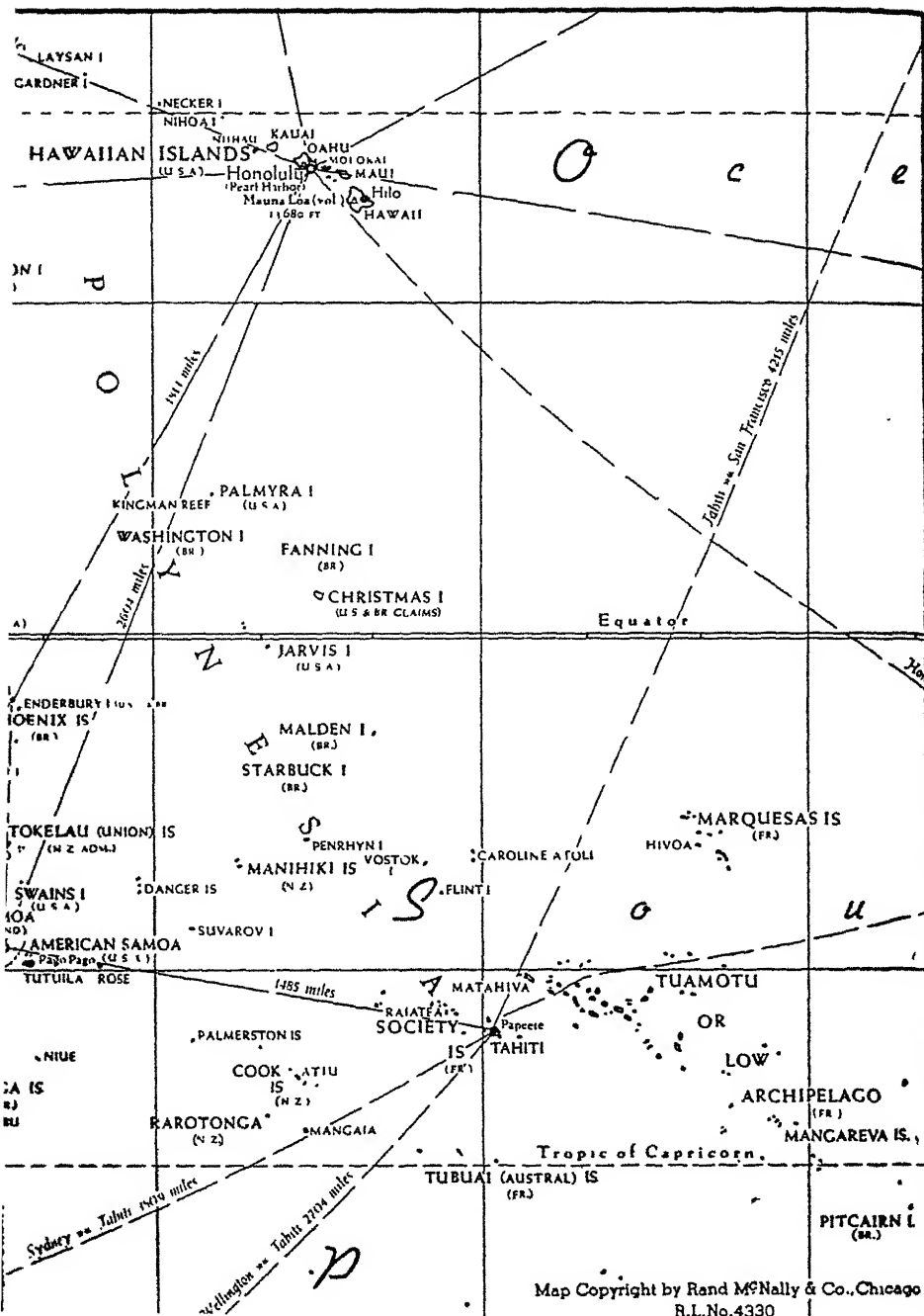


UNFORTUNATELY the Pacific was not explored until the eighteenth century. The first traveler who attracted the attention and curiosity of the entire world to this terrible ocean was the fabulous Captain Cook. He monopolized the Pacific to such an extent that the work of other explorers seems blurred, lost in the background. Yet some of them deserve a better fate.

After the loss of Canada, Bougainville, who was inconsolable, became a mariner and sailed the South Atlantic as far as the Malouines where he tried to found a new French colony. This was a failure. In 1766, as a last resort, he undertook his second voyage to the Pacific. He went to Samoa and the Hebrides, and touched at New Guinea for supplies before returning to Europe by way of Batavia and Ile de France. He had surrounded himself with scientists and geographers and brought an ample harvest of data from his trip.

In 1791 Kerguelen, who gave his name to a group of little islands off Madagascar, explored the South Seas in his turn, while Surville and Marion-Dufresne visited New Zealand.

The most remarkable of all these voyages was that of La Pérouse. It was a real voyage of exploration, scientifically prepared with the greatest care. Captain Cook's discoveries had inspired the royal government to sponsor it.



La Pérouse first sailed along the coasts of the Pacific up to Kamchatka, then, turning southward, sought the traces of Bougainville's explorations and pushed on as far as Australia, which Bougainville had not been able to reach for lack of supplies. This was in 1788. From then on there was no news of him. It was believed that he had been lost with his ship. The Constituent Assembly sent d'Entrecasteaux to look for him but without results; after visiting New Caledonia and several strings of islands around it, he died in the course of his expeditions. His officers, instead of returning to the nearest French port, put his fleet up for auction; Dutchmen from Batavia hastened to buy it.

In 1825, during a cruise to Santa-Cruz, Dumont d'Urville learned that La Pérouse had perished there in 1788.

Encouraged by the results obtained by Dumont d'Urville's voyage, Louis-Philippe decided to support French missions in Oceania, which the Bourbon Restoration had created. These groups of fathers were struggling against the London Missionary Society which had spread over all the territory. From then on French incursions, and they became more and more frequent, had as their object the protection of the Catholic missions in this part of the Pacific Ocean. Thus the French established themselves in Tahiti which Wallis, a British subject, had explored before Bougainville. The latter—this became known only later—had taken possession of the Island for France and had dug a hole in the ground to bury the deed duly authenticated. He had baptized the island New Cythera.

It was in Tahiti that the French friars were threatened with expulsion by Queen Pomaré who was encouraged by Pritchard, a very active and energetic English missionary who had gained great influence over her.

Admiral Dupetit-Thouars obtained the first agreement insuring the safety of the Frenchmen on the island; in 1843 he had to organize a new expedition to lay the foundations of a

real protectorate. Like Galliéni at Madagascar he was eventually forced to proclaim the deposition of Queen Pomaré. The British Cabinet, to which Louis-Philippe had the habit of yielding obediently, obtained the restoration of the status quo. The French protectorate was transformed into an annexation only forty years later, in 1880.

Other French attempts in the Pacific were unlucky. The French left Hawaii at the suggestion of the United States; they yielded the Zulu archipelago to Spain and New Zealand to England. After a struggle which lasted more than a decade, France retained only the Marquesas, Leeward Islands and Gambier, an archipelago without importance. It must be recognized that the Leeward Islands had been discovered by Captain Cook in 1769 and that British missionaries had been established there. Only a hundred years later, at the request of the natives, the French flag was definitely hoisted over these meagre possessions.

Following the annexation of the Marquesas, Gambier, Loyalty, Society Islands and Clipperton (this annexation took place forty years after Dupetit-Thouars' expedition) came that of Tuamotu, the Austral Islands and Rapa which had been under French protection, some since the time of Louis-Philippe and some since the Second Empire.

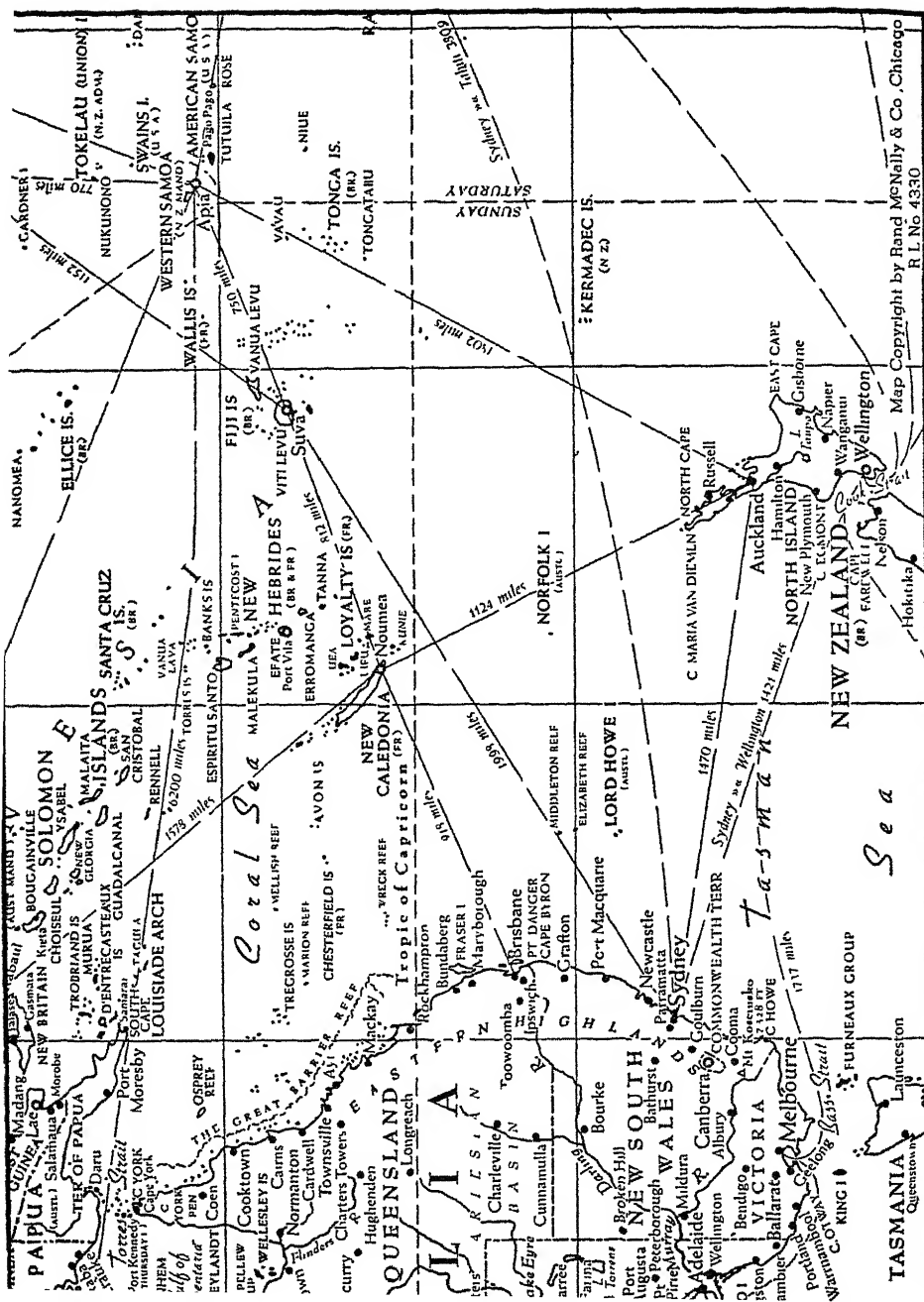
NEW CALEDONIA AND THE HEBRIDES

THIS island, mountainous in the north, fertile and suitable for cattle-raising in the south, is another of Captain Cook's discoveries. The man-eating Kanakas inhabiting it pastured large herds of oxen there.

The July Monarchy was the first to attempt colonization in New Caledonia, but its attempts were unsuccessful. Napoleon III's interest in it was more marked because of his desire to support the religious missions. After a military expedition, the occupation of the Island did not prove difficult despite the opposition of the Kanakas. What complicated the task of the admiral charged with the operation was the competition of a British commodore who also tried to plant his flag there.

After this conquest the Second Empire conceived the unfortunate idea of settling deported criminals in New Caledonia, although a similar project had failed in the Marquesas. Napoleon III hoped by this system to advance the rehabilitation of convicts. Similar attempts made in Guiana had not been more fortunate.

Experience has shown that the presence of convicts drives out other settlers and that the number of criminals who are induced to become good citizens is small. France has given up the policy of deportation for moral reasons. It is in complete contradiction with her general ideas on colonization, even in those regions whose savage populations can be taught to collaborate with her only after a long and slow evolution. More-



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over, the utilization of convict labor is a blot on France's fundamentally humanitarian approach to all colonial problems.

There are only fifteen thousand Europeans in New Caledonia and there is a shortage of labor power, which creates serious economic problems in this region endowed by nature with remarkable mineral wealth.

The savage tribes who used to inhabit the island are dying out, instead of developing as they are in Africa.

IN contrast to the other islands of the Pacific and Oceania, the New Hebrides were known to Spanish navigators as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, but they had been abandoned for a century by their first explorers. It was a Frenchman, Philippe Carteret, who in 1767 took possession of them at the same time that Bougainville asserted the French rights to the *Iles Pentecôte*, *Aurore* and *Pic de l'Etoile*, baptized by him the *Grandes Cyclades*. They were named the New Hebrides by Captain Cook who visited them some five or six years later. La Pérouse, d'Entrecasteaux and Dumont d'Urville touched there successively, but did not personally take possession of them.

The New Hebrides are extremely rich and during the nineteenth century numerous Englishmen settled there. It was they who, despite Australia's claims, from 1855 to 1871, requested that France annex them. An agreement was reached in 1875, establishing a mixed regime under a Franco-British condominium which includes the Banks and the Torres Islands. The results of this collaboration have not been very good. In the future, this regime will have to be adjusted or transformed. As all the business of the New Hebrides is directed towards New Caledonia, and as the French population is much more numerous than the British, it would seem logical, while respecting the legitimate interests of British nations, to establish a French protectorate.

THE MANDATED
TERRITORIES

MANDATES were defined by the Peace Conference as temporary and subject to revocation. Nations holding mandates report every year to the League of Nations on their progress. The sole purpose of the mandate is to prepare the nation under it for independence and national sovereignty. Those peoples which have achieved a degree of development, "such that their existence as an independent nation can be recognized temporarily on condition that the mandated power guides their administration until they are capable of guiding themselves," can name their mandate-holding power.

"Certain communities which once formed part of the Ottoman Empire," are designated, by Article 22 of the Covenant, as mandates. Other nations, too, fall under the same provisions; these are the former German colonies of which the Peace Conference refused to consider the annexation by the victor powers, but the development of which "demanded that the mandate-holding power assume the administration of the territory," and still others, particularly in the Pacific, "which because of the low density of their population, their restricted area, their remoteness from centers of civilization, could not be better administrated than under the law of a mandate-power." The latter are classified under category "C". In

the first two categories, "A" and "B", Syria and Lebanon and a part of Togoland and Cameroon were given to France. The problem of sovereignty was not clearly defined with regard to class "B" except for one imperative clause, that Germany renounce her sovereign rights; therefore England, France and Belgium classified their inhabitants in whatever way seemed to them most appropriate: "British dependents, native inhabitants of the territory under mandate," or "natives of Togoland and Cameroon, protected under the French mandate," etc.

On several occasions, in view of the results obtained, such as the increase in population and the prosperity of the territory, the League has addressed congratulations to France for her sanitary, humane and administrative achievements in Togoland and Cameroon.

SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

THE principal reason for offering France mandatory guardianship of these two countries was her long educational tradition (dating from 1828) of which she was justly proud. Before 1914 France had built twelve hundred schools in these countries which served forty thousand pupils, boys and girls. Under the Sublime Porte, Beirut had a French Faculty of Medicine and a Law College which permitted the organization of a French *Université des Lettres* (humanities). Also the Jesuits had their Oriental Faculty, not to mention the Lazarist College of Antourer, dating from the Bourbon Restoration. Moreover, since 1910 these two nations had expressed their wish to be separated from the Ottoman Empire.

Until they were ready for independence France was to administer the coast of Syria and Lebanon with a hinterland which went as far as the Valley of the Euphrates, that is, Upper Mesopotamia. Included under the French mandate were Palmyra and Rakka, where the ambassadors of Charlemagne had gone to present gifts to the Caliph of Baghdad.

Two million inhabitants belonging to the most diverse races live in Syria and Lebanon, hence the difficulty, mentioned before, of uniting them. In Cilicia the problem is even more serious: this is the battlefield where the Turks had sub-



jected and, on several occasions, massacred the survivors of Armenia, a very ancient Christian civilization. The thorny task of uniting Christian and Moslem here can be compared only to the one which confronts England in Palestine.

Spheres of influence had been created and defined before and during the World War, and were the object of Franco-Anglo-Russian agreements in 1916.

While Emir Feisal made all sorts of trouble for the French, Lebanon clearly demanded to be under a French mandate, despite the opposition of an American commission which in 1919 declared *without giving any evidence* that the Arabs did not want this mandate. At the time of the first French occupation of Cilicia the French were, therefore, exposed to violent reactions of the Turks in the east, and intrigues and threats on the part of Emir Feisal in the west. When the latter was proclaimed King of Iraq, he renounced Damascus, from which he had just been driven; in Cilicia, the French compelled the Turks to withdraw definitely by force. Nevertheless the French decided to evacuate Cilicia, despite the Armenians' expressed desire to form a state under French protection. The insurrection of the Djebel Druses fomented by the Bedouins attempted to engulf Damascus in 1925, but yielded before the same influences which had peacefully insured the French mandate.

Only then was France able to undertake the administrative reorganization of the region and prepare the constitution of the parliamentary assemblies which, in 1936, with French help proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon. France allowed the different departments of the Syrian government to reconstitute themselves and sent them competent inspectors destined to help them prepare for their national life.

The reform of the judiciary was more complex because the religious law applied in matters of personal status; on the

other hand there were consular courts and mixed courts. Courts of appeal were created to supply a permanent and harmonious last recourse for all the Syrians who for decades had struggled amid these different courts. In 1924 this ticklish task was finally crowned with success.

With regard to financial matters we had to settle past debts in agreement with England, taking the Ottoman debt into account. Special funds were assigned to these latter obligations.

The monetary and postal systems were stabilized. Finally, France revived the principle of compulsory primary education introduced by Turkey at the time of the accession to power of the Young Turks. One hundred thousand pupils remained faithful to the private schools and forty thousand were directed into five hundred and fifty-two government schools. The University of St. Joseph continued to function side by side with the Syrian Faculty and the American Faculty.

In the preface to this book, we mentioned the Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese treaties which in 1936 secured the independence of these nations. This was the French aim from 1918 on and many serious difficulties had to be overcome before it was achieved.

After Emir Feisal's departure, a state of Damascus was improvised out of nothing and the Vilayet of Aleppo demanded its autonomy, too. Everyone knows what became of the Sanjak of Alexandretta after Syria and Lebanon won their independence. What is less known is that the Alouites, too, wanted to form an independent state.

As early as 1920, Lebanon, with Beirut as its capital, proclaimed its independence for the first time. Its position was definitely settled in 1936.

In Syria the situation was even more ticklish. Before it could be constituted as it is at present, the five small states composing it had to be taken into account. They were given a basic

framework of common public services: customs, telegraph, railroads, excise offices and a budget.

The creation of parliamentary assemblies only increased the difficulties of organization and the political unrest. The states of Lebanon and Syria under their separate parliamentary regimes certainly still need a protecting nation both in regard to their internal policies and their external defense, to safeguard their independence and to set their feet firmly on the path of modern civilization. Despite her reverses, France has resolutely gone about this task. Djebel Druse and Latakia would still be exposed to great dangers if they were not protected by the enlightened advice of a French High Commissioner.

TOGOLAND

THE Bénin Coast, or Slave Coast, was divided into slices, the most important of which is Dahomey. Togoland, too, is one of them and part of it was entrusted to France¹ by the League of Nations.

That pioneering nation, the Portuguese, had discovered it in the fifteenth century and created its first settlements. It was the reservoir whence the Spaniards, Dutch, British and French drew the slaves who for centuries toiled in Louisiana, the Antilles and Virginia, under the hard law of servitude—slaves to whom France was the first to give freedom.

As early as the seventeenth century Colbert had directed settlers to this region and built forts in it. By the middle of the eighteenth century, French settlements had spread. Nevertheless, the Revolution abandoned all these conquests, except a part of Senegal. Under the Bourbon Restoration, France recovered her position and concluded treaties with the masters of Dahomey. Under the Second Empire, French commercial firms solidly entrenched themselves at Porto Seguro and Anecho.

The Germans came there only after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the Hamburg trading companies in their turn reached agreements with the native chiefs. They had

struggled against British competition supported by military intervention. The British were resolved not to abandon their ground. They planned to conquer Togoland, although Nachtigal had already succeeded in hoisting the German flag there. Anecho, which remained French, was later an object of barter for the German trading-posts in Guinea. The Congress of Berlin definitely settled the frontiers of Togoland, between the British Gold Coast and Dahomey.

Meanwhile the French had penetrated into the interior, and with the assistance of Black chiefs who demanded French protection, had gained a foothold in the hinterland. They wanted to give definite form to the colonies of Dahomey and the Ivory Coast. It was not until 1897 that all the frontiers were definitely traced.

Togoland had a population of a million hard-working inhabitants.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war in 1914, France in conjunction with England undertook the conquest of Togoland, and the part which was assigned to her was placed under the direction of a French commissioner on September 4th, 1916. Thus, in 1919 the League of Nations only sanctioned a *de facto* situation by transforming the conquest into an international mandate given to France. The colony occupied by France comprises a sizeable portion of Togoland, with a population of seven hundred and fifty thousand. Germany completed several large construction works which remained after the conquest, although before his surrender and flight the German commandant blew up certain bridges and edifices which the French have since rebuilt.

The Germans had carried on their colonization in accordance with the Colonial Pact. The natives had been reduced to servitude, and the memory of the excesses committed by Togoland officials, particularly the cruelties which gave the last governor a sorry reputation, had caused the population to

detest the Germans. Immediately upon the arrival of the French in Togoland all this was changed. Towards a population which was surprised and still intimidated, France pursued the same policy of collaboration that had been so successful in other parts of Africa.

An economic and financial council with European and native members was constituted. Chambers of Commerce and communes were organized on the same basis as in Senegal. Mixed municipalities are today administered by Europeans and natives. Family and tribal chiefs now appoint the county or village heads. It must be said that the natives admirably fulfil their tasks. Their modernized administration is a direct continuation of their patriarchal administration. Matters of local importance are settled exclusively by natives. Even the exercise of justice follows the same principles. The village head functions as the justice of the peace. The citizens may appeal his decisions to a court presided over by a *chef de cercle* assisted by two native notables. Finally, as a last recourse, there is a Court of Appeals.

German rule had instituted a penal code with the whip and flogging as its principal features. Needless to say, France abolished this horrible regime.

While ridding the region of a violent and brutal system, it was particularly difficult to introduce legislation to insure efficient labor. Despite their recent transition from a barbarian to a modern mode of life, the natives, all volunteers, work for six months a year on French railroad services. They receive medical services and are sheltered and supplied; volunteers continually flow into French workshops.

In 1929, ten years after the establishment of the mandate, France allocated a million francs a year for the development of public education. Graduates from her primary schools receive the *certificat d'études*. There are twenty-two village

schools and six regional schools where the natives can receive the *certificat complémentaire*.

In the field of sanitation nothing had been done for the natives before the French arrival; magnificent hospitals had been built, but they were reserved for the Germans. Today, six medical districts each have one native hospital and numerous dispensaries, whose expenditures in 1929 were as high as six million francs. As in French Equatorial Africa, France is carrying on the fight against the tsetse fly, which is more prevalent in Togoland than in any other part of Africa. The results she has achieved have aroused the admiration of all the international missions which have visited her establishments. The incidence of sleeping sickness is rapidly decreasing.

A fiscal regime based on equality has proved its merit in Togoland as it had in Senegal and Equatorial Africa. In general, vacant lots have been given to the State. Communal lands constitute a native reservation. Finally, all the native collectivities and individuals retain their property under appropriate guarantees. France is preparing to apply the Torrens Act in Togoland.

Twenty new villages have been created following all the rules of modern hygiene, on vacant lots. In 1925 France built a new wharf. At present three hundred kilometres of railway tracks have been built, and a French roadbuilding program is in full swing.

CAMEROON

WITH its coastline two hundred kilometres long and its hinterland of one hundred and fifty thousand square kilometres of valleys, Cameroon borders on mountains as high as Mont Blanc. It is provided with a magnificent natural harbor which we have equipped perfectly, Douala.

Cameroon was first chiefly colonized by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. They baptized the coast, "the river of Crabs" (Rio dos Camoroes). They were its masters for a long period. In the middle of the nineteenth century England bought a strip of territory from a native chief, where today Victoria stands. In 1868 the Germans set up a commercial establishment in Douala. German explorers, Dorth, Nachtigal and Flegel set out from there and between 1855 and 1880 prospected the entire hinterland as far as Chad and Benoué. In 1884 Germany proclaimed her protectorate over Cameroon, which continued until 1908 covering an immense territory; in 1911, France added to it the Bec de Canard, as the result of an agreement already mentioned. During the war of 1914-1918 Franco-British contingents invaded Cameroon, and Douala was captured almost immediately. Yaoundé was taken only after a stubborn campaign in 1915. The German forces took refuge on the Spanish territory of Mouni, in order to avoid surrendering in open country.

The Franco-British partition of Cameroon was made official by an agreement concluded on March 4th, 1916, ratified on June 10th, 1919 by a Franco-British declaration, and on March 20th, 1922 by the League of Nations.

The part of Cameroon under French mandate comprises two million inhabitants. From 1919 to 1922 the colony was administered by a commissioner. France has applied the same judiciary system in Cameroon as in Togoland.

The budget for public education amounts to one million and two hundred thousand francs and it provides, as in Togoland, for village schools and regional schools. The Germans had spent only thirty thousand marks on education. The French budget of public health reaches five million francs. Doctor Jamot and his collaborators have carried on a stubborn struggle against sleeping sickness. Slavery, preserved by the Germans, was of course abolished, and the French have reduced the *portage* obligations to a minimum. The harbor of Douala, which the Germans had only begun to develop, now has a pier one thousand and seven hundred meters long and a deep water berth.

Under German domination only one hundred and eighty kilometres of railroads were built. The present network has four hundred kilometres. During the construction works, native mortality, despite a murderous climate, was never more than six per cent of the laborers engaged. The total network of roads extends over four thousand kilometres. The public domain and matters pertaining to land property have been settled on the same basis as in Togoland. The French system of forest development in Cameroon is a model of its kind.

FRANCE ABROAD

THE HUGUENOTS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

ONLY the Dutch are generally thought to have colonized the Cape of Good Hope. Actually the French Huguenots were associated with them.

The East India Company, whose seat was at Amsterdam, after establishing itself on the coasts of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, from Ceylon to Nagasaki, sought a good port between Insulinde and Rotterdam and chose the Cape of Good Hope because of its deep water and the presence nearby of immense herds of cattle which the natives willingly bartered for peas and beans. Jan van Riebeeck, who led a squadron of eight ships, cast anchor at Goeds Hoop, in the southern part of the bay. His companions soon realized the advantages of this port whose climate is mild and whose hinterland is favorable for cattle raising. Contrary to their usual custom, the Dutch decided to settle there in order to cultivate the region. They were not alone: German and Rhenish families accompanied them.

In 1685 the Huguenots who, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had fled to Holland, were so numerous there that the "ark of the fugitives could not contain all the flock". For this reason the Company issued an appeal to the refugees,

"particularly to those who are expert in the culture of the vine and in the manufacture of vinegar and spirits". It offered them advantageous conditions: a cash subsidy, free concessions of farming land, credits for the acquisition of livestock and instructions for the exploitation of an agricultural domain. The contract was to be signed for a term of five years; those who left the colony before that time would have to pay for their own return trip. In addition, the future colonists were to swear allegiance to the "States General of the United Powers".

During 1688 and 1689 a mass exodus took place on eight ships that set out from Amsterdam, Delft, Rotterdam and Hoorn. Some ships were only thirty to fifty metres long. The Huguenots were literally penned in them like cattle. The food was monotonous: salt pork and beef with peas which were often moldy. "The water retained the taste of the barrel, and it was almost always bad for drinking," writes a chronicler who preserved a bitter memory of this voyage. "At sea one feasts on rain-water." Those who could obtain Spanish wine consoled themselves with it for the unpleasantness of the daily fare. During the long crossing which brought death to many of the passengers the name, "Cape of Good Hope," seemed to them a wretched irony.

The professions of the colonists who came from all parts of France were varied: farmers, blacksmiths, bootmakers, carpenters, cartwrights, physicians. Pierre Simon d'Embrun was their pastor. His monthly salary was one hundred and eighty-eight French francs. Altogether there were two hundred Huguenots—and the whole colony comprised only six hundred people.

The emigrants were scattered over an area of thirty square kilometres. They gave their various domains the names of French provinces: Bourgogne, Brie, Champagne, Provence, Picardie, etc. Franske Hoek which they built still existed

twenty-five years ago. Jean Gardiol brought an acorn from France to plant an oak near his dwelling.

They employed Madagascan or Hottentot slaves as laborers. The names of their sixty domains figure in the archives of the colony.

At Stallenbach and Drakenstein there was much social life. The emigrants held friendly gatherings. "We drank a glass or two of good wine," noted Adam Tas on his tablets on the occasion of one of these visits. What sustained them in their isolation was their faith. They had crossed half of the world "to pray God according to their lights."

The first church worthy of the name was built in 1718. The signatures of its ten founders have been preserved; this is the French church of Drakenstein. Simon preached in it. The Governor of the Cape found that he talked too much and "often meddled in private and public affairs". Of a querulous disposition he had many conflicts with the most prominent of the emigrants, Jacques de Savoie. He published a pamphlet at Leyden dedicated to William of Orange; this was followed by a translation of the Psalms. To honor his memory the map still bears the name of Simondinus.

In the beginning the colony remained homogeneous and separate; later, as was the case in America, it merged with the surrounding population and partly lost its French character. The creation of a consistory composed exclusively of Huguenot refugees was opposed by Governor Van der Stel, who was hostile to the Frenchmen.

The Company's board of directors was presented with a list of the grievances of the settlers in a petition which was partly complied with. From then on the direction of their church was to be given half to Frenchmen and half to Dutchmen; the government was to publish its edicts in the two languages. This shows how homogeneous the refugee colony was at the beginning of its history.

Nevertheless the Company wanted gradually to impose the use of Dutch. But the colonists of Drakenstein protested, and the services continued to be celebrated in French. As late as 1715 they were still conducted in that language.

The Dutch and the Huguenots united against the governor who claimed the right to reserve the supplies of the Company's ships for his family. The refugees supported the Netherlanders so vigorously that the tyrant was overthrown—Van der Stel was recalled.

By the end of the seventeenth century some of the settlers emigrated eastward to be free of government interference. Thus the du Toit family took root in the Breede Valley. In 1795 England seized the Cape, but in 1803 restored it to Batavia.

By 1752 the grandsons of the refugees no longer spoke French. Yet during the first struggle of the Afrikanders against the English (in 1795) their leader bore a characteristic French name: Duplessis. Carrel and Cellier, the leaders of the emigrant Boërs who refused to submit to British domination, were Frenchmen; and between 1899 and 1902 Generals Joubert and Cronje (Cronier), victors over Lord Methuen at Magersfontein, were noted for their energetic resistance.

Even today the supreme chief of the Union's judiciary is Baron de Villiers.

Thus it can be said that descendants of the two hundred French Huguenots have made an important contribution to the building of the Union of South Africa.

THE PANAMA CANAL

WE have said elsewhere that France built important railroads in Spain, Ethiopia and Yunnan. But French engineering achievements in foreign countries were not confined to railroads.

In 1600 this is what Champlain wrote of the region of Panama: "A little river coming from the mountains goes down to Porto-Vella, which is four leagues from Panama. One can see that if these four leagues of land were cut it would be possible to come from the South Sea (Pacific) to this sea."

At the time of the colonization of the Antilles there were French settlers in Darien. In the eighteenth century a "commandant of the Tigre River" was appointed. What made colonization impossible was the prevalence of yellow fever; thus the region remained in the hands of Colombia, but the French were to return. They had always dreamed of digging a canal at Panama.

As early as 1838 the Colombian government granted France the right to cut a canal through the Isthmus. In 1843, Guizot sent a group of engineers to investigate Limon Bay. The French government even obtained a concession for a railroad to cross the Isthmus at Colon. This was inaugurated in 1855.

In 1876 the United States, which had a similar idea, de-

cided to dig the canal across Nicaragua where a lake would serve as a reservoir. At that time, on the strength of the rights it had acquired, the French government appointed a committee for the investigation of the Isthmus, under the chairmanship of Ferdinand de Lesseps. De Lesseps obtained the concession for the works from the Colombian government and persuaded an international congress to decide that the project for a canal through Panama should be given precedence over the American project for a canal through Nicaragua. The enterprise was to cost a billion francs and was to be carried out by the *Société Civile Internationale du Canal Interocéanique*.

The sum—equivalent to two hundred million dollars—seemed fantastic, so the plans were re-drawn and the projected costs reduced to five hundred million francs. The first excavations were begun on this inadequate basis. The estimates of the engineers were incorrect, because they envisaged the displacement of only seventy-five million cubic metres of soil; when the works were taken over by the United States half of the diggings were still to be done, although sixty-two million cubic metres of soil had already been displaced. It was necessary to cut into a mountain one thousand and three hundred metres thick and dredge considerable streams. The project such as it had been conceived could not be carried out; yet the methods the United States later used to complete the canal were clearly stated by Gaudin de Lépinay, a Frenchman, as early as 1899. "In front of you," said M. de Lépinay, "you have a mountain about two kilometres thick, the Culebra, whose summit is approximately one hundred metres above sea level; its distance from the Atlantic is almost double its distance from the Pacific. The terrain slopes gently from Culebra toward the Atlantic through the valley of the Obisto, the left tributary of the Chagres, and then through the valley of the Chagres; similarly it slopes down on the Pacific side

through the valley of the Rio Grande. If you make a level canal you must dig a strip whose bottom will be nine metres below sea level. The difficulties of such an enterprise would be enormous in any country, but in a country infested by tropical fever they would be almost superhuman. There is one means of reducing the task considerably. Dam the Chagres and the Rio Grande as close to the sea as possible, keep the waters twenty-four metres above sea level and build locks permitting the water to go down from the lake thus formed to sea level and vice versa; then you will have almost nothing to do in the Chagres and Rio Grande Valleys. Your strip along the Obispo Valley and across the Culebra will be decreased by twenty-four meters in depth; the work will be enormously facilitated."

Still the idea of the level canal won the day. It was hard to find the first four hundred millions; then the difficulties increased. Yellow fever overcame twenty per cent of the personnel and it was after a hecatomb of engineers that Bunau-Varilla, then aged twenty-six, was appointed general director of the works. After numberless errors, new investigations were made in 1885 and 1886 and finally Bunau-Varilla suggested that the plans be changed and a canal with locks built. He was listened to, but it was too late. An additional four hundred millions were needed. After its technical failures, the Company suffered a number of financial reverses which on December 14, 1888 led to its bankruptcy. The affair became a political scandal. The government did not dare take over the liquidation in order to complete the project which was now well advanced. As with the Suez Canal, cowardice won the day. Ferdinand de Lesseps, that glory of France, was dragged into court and sentenced at the age of seventy-five. This meant the loss of the project for France. In 1901 the Company in desperation addressed itself to the United States government which bought the works.

Bunau-Varilla's tenacity conquered the idea of the Nicaraguan project. Colombia was dispossessed of the canal territory by a revolution and Bunau-Varilla was appointed Minister of the Panama Republic in Washington. Many intrigues and a sharp struggle of opposing interests preceded his eventual success in getting his point of view accepted. The enterprise was sold for forty million dollars, and the canal completed with the help of brilliant American engineering and powerful resources.

It was really a Frenchman who created it.

FRANCE AND PERSIA

"THE instructions given on February 18, 1626 to Sieur des Hayes de Cormenin, Master Councillor of the King's Household, pertaining to the voyage he is undertaking to Persia in order to establish the Catholic religion in that land and, while doing this, to make France the mistress of its trade," clearly defined Cardinal de Richelieu's and Father Joseph's policies.

The Marseille merchants had solicited the King's assistance "resolved as they were to undertake this traffick for His Majesty's glory and His Kingdom's advantage".

The King's Ambassador stopped at Constantinople. He wanted to convince, "the Great Lord and his Ministers that the purpose of his voyage was to break the agreement that was beginning to be established between the King of Persia and the King of Spain, in which His Highness has great interest". He suggested that the merchandise bought by the French merchants should be sent through Aleppo, Smyrna and Alexandria, a route which "would be of benefit to the customs of the Great Lord".

Would the King of Persia be convinced that the practise of the Catholic religion would secure him, "the friendship of all the Christians"? At any rate, the object of the French mission was, "to establish a residence of merchants in Persia

in order to obtain a footing in the trade". In brief, Cormenin hoped to drive out of Persia the British, Dutch, Venetians and, above all, the Spanish who controlled the Indian Ocean. These projects were too grandiose; his mission did not get further than Constantinople.

Reverend Father Pacifique of Provins was more fortunate. With Gabriel de Pons and Juste de Beauvais this Capuchin carried letters of introduction from the Cardinal to Shah Abbas I. He obtained concessions for two religious establishments, and settled next to the Augustins and Carmelites who had installed themselves earlier at Ispahan. He returned to France in 1629 carrying magnificent gifts which Abbas I had given him for the French king. In 1631 he published an account of, "the voyage to Persia made by Reverend Father Pacifique de Beauvais, Capuchin preacher, in which you will see the good treatment granted by the King of Persia to Reverend Father Pacifique in order to enable him also to build monasteries throughout the Kingdom".

Thirty years later this voyage had borne fruit. Beber and two noblemen, one of whom, de la Boulaye, was an agent of the *Compagnie des Indes* just founded by Colbert, appeared in Persia bringing a letter of introduction to "the varlet of the King of Persia". The Company's emissaries arrived at Ispahan on November 16, 1665 with a caravan of more than one thousand people who had disembarked at Smyrna and rejoined them *en route*. After a short period of negotiations the Company obtained a three-year exemption from customs duties on all merchandise it might import into Persia.

According to M. de l'Etoile, an important French merchant established in Ispahan, they were very well received by the King "with singular joy at seeing the Frenchmen, whose arrival had been longed for even by his predecessors". It was the Superior of the Capuchin Order who had conducted the negotiations in secret and obtained these exceptional privi-

leges for them. But despite the arrival of the squadron sent by Colbert to the Indian Ocean under Lieutenant General de la Haye, they failed to profit from the agreement. Only the religious missions benefited from these voyages, which enabled them to extend their activities. They are still working in Persia.

The King of Persia harbored an inexplicable admiration for Louis XIV. He had implored the Grand Monarch to grant him the assistance of his fleet in order to expel the Arabs from Mascate, promising to compensate France with the Port of Benderai.

The new French envoy, Jean-Baptiste Fabre, was not more successful than his predecessors. He had committed the mistake of including in his mission to Persia a prostitute he had met in a bawdy house in the Rue Mazarine. Mademoiselle Petit, his noisy companion, scandalized Ispahan by appearing in the streets with her face unveiled. By her intrigues and licentiousness she stirred up the wrath of the Capuchins, Carmelites and Jesuits. Moreover, the French ambassador in Constantinople, M. de Ferréol, had warned the Shah of Persia against Jean-Baptiste Fabre. The inevitable happened. Fabre was driven out, and after many adventures died on his way home. Surprisingly enough, Mademoiselle Petit remained in Ispahan.

Upon receiving the news of Fabre's death, Ferréol dispatched his secretary, Michel, to Persia. The latter found Mademoiselle Petit at home in the embassy where she ruled as absolute mistress. She had even ended up by obtaining an audience with the Shah and winning his confidence. Michel had the courage to stand up to her. After a short time she, too, was compelled to leave the kingdom at the very moment Michel received his credentials appointing him official French envoy to the King. Magnificent feasts and banquets were given in honor of the new representative and in September,

1708, the Shah signed a treaty according to which French merchandise was to be "agreeably received and honestly treated by the Beleger-Beys, Viziers and Commissioners of the Divan". French merchants were also to be entitled to create *fonduks*, "on which the flag of France will be hoisted". This treaty was never ratified. Nevertheless, in 1715, the Shah decided to send an embassy to the French King which, despite a thousand intrigues and vicissitudes, finally reached its goal. On August 13, 1715, Mehemed Riza Bey signed a new agreement at Versailles, in Marquis de Torcy's apartment; the clauses were the same as before: French merchandise was to enter Persia duty-free.

Accompanied by a favorite, Madame d'Epinay, Mehemed Riza Bey reached his native land after a voyage that lasted two years. The King of France was dead, Mehemed's Persian patrons had disappeared and his own favor with the Shah was a thing of the past; in his despair he took poison. Only a few days after his death the French consul obtained the ratification of the treaty.

At that time, however, Persia's very existence was at stake. Ispahan was under siege by the Afghans, and the agreement was never carried out. During the rest of the eighteenth century French relations with Persia were intermittent, almost completely interrupted.

Some Frenchmen continued to play an important part in Persia. One of them was Jacques Rousseau, an uncle of the famous Jean-Jacques. During the siege of the capital by the Afghans he hid the Shah's treasure in a well, and the conquerors never succeeded in discovering it. When the Shah's successor, Thamar, finally drove the Afghans out of his capital, Jacques Rousseau unearthed the treasure and became the sovereign's favorite. For a quarter of a century he was the representative of France at Ispahan, where he had married Reine de l'Etoile, daughter of the memorialist we have quoted

above. Rousseau's son obtained the cession of Kharek Island and in the residence the Shah had given him, set up the physics and chemistry laboratory of Simon de Verville whose collection of manuscripts is famous. Other scientists, like Jean Otter, sent by Maurepas to study Oriental languages, and the botanist Michaux, have left in Persia the memory of immortal works.

This tradition was interrupted by Antoine Olivier and Guillaume Bruguière who were charged by the Committee of Public Safety with establishing diplomatic relations with Mohamed-Aga-Khan soon after he took power. These emissaries of the Revolution were badly received. They had not brought gifts and had committed the fatal error of dressing in Oriental fashion. The memory of their predecessors made them seem shabby and colorless. They returned sadly to Constantinople having failed to obtain the renewal of the Treaty of 1715.

Napoleon dreamed of arousing Persia against Russia and England. J. F. Rousseau, the French consul general, had given Talleyrand the hope of a Franco-Persian alliance. For that reason Marshal Brune hastened to send Amédée Joubert and Alexandre Romieu to Teheran. In their bags they carried a bombastic message addressed by the French Emperor to the Shah. In it Napoleon declared his wish to learn of everything that pertained to "the glory of the Shah, his power, his needs, his interests, his dangers". Romieu died in the course of his mission and was buried with the honors usually reserved for Grand Viziers. While this was going on Amédée Joubert arrived in Persia. The Shah, impressed by the victory of Austerlitz, received him with great respect, and hastened in his turn to send an embassy to Napoleon, which was led by Mohammed-Mirza. The French army was then in Poland; Mohammed-Mirza came to Warsaw where he was received by Talleyrand. The Emperor gave him an audience at the castle

of Finckenstein and on May 4, 1807 a treaty was initialed. In it the Shah undertook to declare war on England, while Napoleon guaranteed Persian territory against a Russian invasion.

Colonel Gardane's mission arrived in Teheran in August in order to obtain the ratification of the Finckenstein Treaty, but Napoleon had promised that the Russians would evacuate Georgia at the very moment the Russian Marshal Gudovich presented the Shah with an ultimatum in which he demanded that the Persians renounce Georgia and immediately evacuate Armenia. Gardane sent an indignant protest to the Marshal, but it had no results. During the difficult negotiations that followed, a British squadron cast anchor off Bandar Abu Shehr. The Shah felt deserted by the Emperor, and in the midst of all this Sir Harford Jones arrived in Teheran. Gardane asked immediately for his letters of recall; before his departure his embassy was exposed to the insults of the populace; the chaplain of the mission was struck in the street. Upon his return to France, Gardane was dismissed from court.

Only in 1839 was he replaced in Teheran by Comte de Sercey, while Hussein Khan was accredited to Louis-Philippe. The part played by the new ambassador was that of a cautious spectator: the July Monarchy did not wish to take any position in the struggle between England and Russia for influence in Persia. Since that time French diplomatic relations with Persia have been uninterrupted and uneventful. One of the French ministers, Comte de Gobineau, came back from his trip to Teheran with a book on the religions and philosophies of Central Asia, which created a great stir. In 1867 during the *Exposition Universelle*, the Shah came to France; he also came there in 1873 and 1889.

If after the Gardane mission Franco-Persian diplomatic relations were no longer significant, the scientific work of the French missions in Persia assumed great importance. The

excavation of the Ahmenide and Sassanide ruins by Coste and Flandin unearthed Persepolis, the capital of Xerxes and Darius. The Dieulafoy also made important finds: they were the first to reveal the ancient art of Persia. Their mission uncovered Xerxes' Apadana, a hypostyle hall of thirty-six columns, and the Lions' Frieze. These monuments were brought to France and exhibited at the Louvre. Jacques de Morgan discovered the Persian oil which England has since exploited, and pursued his scientific and artistic explorations for several years: he discovered the tombs of the princesses of the twelfth dynasty at Dahehur, the dale of Menes, and opened the "tell of the royal city" at Susa. He also unveiled there the obelisk of King Manishlusu, Naramsin's stele, the Kondurru of the Kassite epoch, the Didymean Apollo and Hammurabi's code.

It may be said that the sojourn of the French in Persia which has lasted for three centuries has been a long story of mutual curiosity and friendship. It is another mark of French intellectual, scientific and moral influence in the Near East.

CONCLUSIONS

HISTORY is a lesson projected upon the future, often through a distorting mirror. Of all the solutions presented to him the statesman gropingly chooses the one which seems to him the least impossible. The problems which the future Treaty of Peace must try to solve are so general and complex that the problems of the Versailles Treaty look pale in comparison.

It is true that the United Nations have formulated several principles in the Atlantic Charter. They have solemnly proclaimed that if they are victorious they will prevent all conquests and annexations, and on several other occasions have pledged themselves to restore everywhere the *status quo ante*. Mr. Winston Churchill's last speech is an example in point. But does this mean that Russia, at the peace table, will not raise the question: Which status quo? That of 1919 or that of 1921? Who wants to return independent Ethiopia to Italy? And will England again accept a situation which leaves her Egyptian flank threatened? Certainly not! And will the League of Nations continue trying to find solutions?

Those who like Wendell Willkie—and fortunately this cannot be said of any of the governing statesmen—try to trace the outline of the world map even before the war is over, who proclaim the dissolution of the British Empire, create a new Arab state, deprive Russia of her natural defenses, promise such and such a part of Indo-China to China and the Dutch Indies to Asiatic nations, would run the risk of losing the war if they were in power. Certain others—unlike Mr. Keynes who

after the Versailles Treaty, even though he was one of the experts participating in its formulation criticized the negotiators of the peace—condemn the ulterior motives of the future negotiators in advance, and here and now anathemize their actions. In doing this they base themselves on the solemn promises made by President Roosevelt or Winston Churchill in the name of their governments.

The weight of this war—which is really the first world war—is terribly hard to bear for all the peoples who are taking part in the struggle. Although victory seems certain now that control of the air and the seas is in the hands of the United Nations, no one ventures to predict how long the war will last and what losses it will eventually entail. Paris, Brussels, The Hague, Copenhagen, Oslo, Warsaw are occupied by the enemy; and, in the Pacific, Japan still holds the controls. If the liberators committed the folly of tracing frontiers and placing improvised labels on the countries still awaiting liberation, they would precipitate discord in their own midst.

However, just as President Wilson advanced certain principles, incidentally in full agreement with Great Britain, France and Italy (which was then our ally), so today there are postulates whose negation would cause a break among the United Nations and the loss of the war. And first among these is the principle of the indissolubility of the British Commonwealth and of respect for the French Empire, which includes France and all her colonies.

With regard to the French Empire, the deductions to be made are simple, because the premises are facts. Except for Indo-China, handed over to Japan and Siam after a heroic fight, in which no friendly hand helped France, the Empire is intact. Although France lost the battle of Asia after the battle of France, the war for her African and American possessions never took place, because, fearing a navy which it could not conquer, the enemy did not venture to attack them.

Just as Great Britain—Churchill has said so—is determined to recover by force Burma and Singapore, France, at the side of her allies, owes it to herself to help in the destruction of Japan and to liberate the peoples of Annam, Tongking, Cochinchina, Laos and Cambodia. France did not rescue these peoples from the cruel domination of China and Siam only to abandon them today to another feudal regime, that of Nippon.

Despite the events in the Pacific, the French Empire still numbers forty-five million faithful inhabitants with an army of five hundred thousand men who have flocked to her standards in answer to the appeal of two great soldiers. They have been supplied with tanks, airplanes and guns by the United States and Great Britain, while France's own national arsenal is temporarily occupied by Germany. In the beginning it was only a phalanx of sixty thousand men who almost alone bore the brunt of the struggle during the opening months of the Tunisian campaign, after their elders had won glory at Bir-Hachem. Thus, a nation entirely invested by the enemy has been able to raise half a million soldiers organized by a general staff and experienced leaders. This is a fact unprecedented in history.

It is not the only contribution of the French Empire to the common cause. In addition to being self-sufficient, thanks to its enormous agricultural output and abundant livestock, it is supplying its allies with millions of tons of iron, phosphates, manganese, cork, peanuts and rubber, of which the United Nations have the most urgent need. Protecting this important economic structure, the French Navy, still powerful despite the holocaust of Toulon, presents a shield of dreadnaughts, cruisers, destroyers and submarines which have distinguished themselves at Narvik, Dunkerque, in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean and have not been defeated anywhere. Behind this shield French possessions have not had to fear any aggression.

The financial structure of this economic unit is just as solid. Deposited in London, New York, Dakar and Martinique, the largest gold reserve of Europe secures the Empire's credits and payments with a large margin. Recently the government of Algiers, France's temporary capital, paid the United States government, in one check, the sum of twenty-five million dollars for supplies of foodstuffs and clothing.

In 1939 France and her Empire had a combined population of one hundred and ten million—larger than that of Italy or Japan, and almost equal to that of the United States. With her African appendage, indispensable to the reconstruction of Europe, France, strong because of her cultural past and democratic tradition, is a basic component of Europe, and a necessary world factor, just as is that veritable league of nations, the British Commonwealth.

Even though her European territory is occupied, France, because of the peoples which complement her and her economic and military contributions, forms the only basis, in Africa, which enables the United Nations to dominate the Mediterranean, now a Franco-British lake, and to attack the underbelly of Hitler's fortress, just as Australia, after the loss of the Philippines, Indo-China and Guam, remains the only springboard for an attack against the Empire of the Rising Sun.

We have good reason to believe that France could raise a million men. Senegal could easily recruit five hundred thousand soldiers, brothers to those who won fame on the Marne and at Verdun. To achieve this it would be sufficient for the United States to agree to supply them with the necessary weapons. Finally France disposes of her traditional cadres; it is known what services they rendered in 1918 when, after many defeats suffered by various nations, they brought about the victory of the Allies under Foch's unified command.

Each war offers examples of military skill or genius. Despite

her defeat in 1940, France has contributed to this tradition; the Germans themselves recognize that General de Gaulle is one of the forerunners of modern tactics.

With such cards in her hands France need not feel like a beggar when she comes to the Peace Conference.

But let us cast a glance beyond the Peace Conference. After the war the French Empire must once again play the part assigned to it by its history and geography. Is continued European peace, a democratic peace, whatever the conditions imposed on Germany, thinkable without a strong France? And France, as Churchill has said, is strong only if she is supported by her colonies. Incidentally, on the morrow of her liberation these colonies will supply her with the necessary economic resources, thus largely exempting the United States from sending her foodstuffs which can be reserved for unfortunate Belgium, martyred Holland and Norway, heroic Greece and Yugoslavia. These countries are as starved as France, but unlike her, are deprived of those agricultural products which have enabled blockaded Germany to survive two Russian campaigns. And the world does not have to be told that the Reich is living on her spoils of France.

To accomplish its task the French Empire must fulfill the primary conditions of modern colonization which, although it gives the colonizing power rights and advantages, imposes upon it inescapable duties and considerable risks.

We have shown in the course of this historical survey—and we do not claim to have written anything more than a survey—that under the Third Republic France rejected the Nessus robe of the Colonial Pact which had remained stuck to the shoulders of other colonizers. Unlike ourselves, they had not been deprived of their possessions since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Third Republic replaced the system of exclusive rights by a regime which is no doubt

advantageous for her merchant marine and even more advantageous for each of her colonies, and which is liberal and humane in regard to the needs of the colonial people. The countries under French protectorate practise the policy of the open door in the largest sense of the term: none of them preserves the regime of the closed door. From an economic point of view this evolution is bearing fruit; from the political point of view, it is doubtless one of the principal reasons for French success.

The Second Empire applied a liberal regime in Algeria, but committed the mistake of imposing home-country legislation in this possession with the intention of completely assimilating the colony to our mode of national existence. Thus it aroused conflicts and resistance which, after its fall, led to the revolt of Mokrani. It is only fair to blame the Imperial administration for a past heavy with consequences because of its systematic opposition to the principles expressed by Bugeaud concerning the advantages of collaboration and the dangers of adaptation without nuances. The Empire bequeathed to France an Algeria which forty years of reforms have made habitable for the natives as well as the colonists.

It is to Jules Ferry and Marshal Lyautey that we owe the necessary corrections, the abandonment of a hidebound method and the application in Tunisia and Morocco of special legislation inspired by the past, respectful of traditions, of patriarchal life, of ancient institutions and Moslem beliefs which are proof against Christian philosophy.

What has remained of the regime of assimilation under the Third Republic is a principle which the future will strengthen more and more. It involves on the one hand the accession to citizenship, in various ways, of the Ibero-Ligurian race which seeks progressively to merge itself with the people of France; on the other hand, the gradual achievement of autonomy by

backward peoples who cannot be suddenly given an independence that would prove suicidal to them.

In the course of this survey we have tried to show the stages, with all their special characteristics, which the administration of each colony has passed through on the road to this ideal goal. What will emerge clearly in the future is the tendency toward shared authority, mixed representation, and finally "self-government" under France's guardianship, of the kind now realized in Syria and the Lebanon.

But is not naturalization in the assimilated regions surrounded by obstacles which make it illusory? To those pedantic minds which maintain this we answer that it is not true. In order to be consistent we have made certain exceptions which will prevent the establishment of an incongruous medley in French Algeria. We know that these exceptions are inspired by respect for religious traditions which France has always refused to offend, except when they were opposed to her own democratic institutions.

France has thirty million Moslem subjects and wherever she has encountered Islam she has respected and lived by its judiciary and communal roots. Yet Islam proclaims polygamy and condemns celibacy; it was impossible for France to strike a polygamous French citizen with the sword of the law and at the same time permit Arab citizens to enjoy the rights and privileges inherent in French citizenship while they violated the French laws of marriage and inheritance. Some Algerian Jews who at the time of the Crémieux decree were polygamous renounced polygamy and became French citizens without violating the law of Moses. The Arabs and Berbers, as we have said before, consider that polygamy is prescribed by the Koran, and although, for economic reasons, they have often renounced it in practice, they have not consented definitely to break with their old religious law. Because of her

respect for this law France granted those Mussulmans who were determined to renounce the possibility of merging with her rather than abandon their former status, all electoral rights in matters pertaining to the administration of the Algerian community. She has applied the same principles to the disciples of Confucius, although these are much more open to the influence of Christianity, which has made some illustrious converts among them, including the Empress of Annam. Nevertheless, Indo-China, just like White and Black Africa, is attached to its traditions. In the future these countries will evolve toward modern life in an orderly democracy.

Let us briefly outline the social, economic and political methods which it will be necessary to apply in order to obtain results in the future.

First of all, France must combat native pauperism and create prosperity for the native populations whose interests must never be sacrificed to the home country, and this must be done by the systematic development of the subsoil and the rational exploitation of the soil.

As far as the soil is concerned, the road has already been traced: there is no agricultural country in the world that can compete with Algeria in the culture of grain. California, to quote an example from another field, had not yet, despite the excellence of its products, attained the degree of scientific development achieved by the viticulturists of Algeria and Tunisia.

In Indo-China, the culture of rubber, whose production has reached only twenty thousand tons, and of tea, is destined to be greatly developed, while the production of rice has already achieved a yearly output of seven million tons.

The exploitation of the forests in Equatorial Africa has not yet given all the results that can be hoped for. But the production of bananas and peanuts has reached figures which

seem to constitute an unsurpassable record. One million hectares on the banks of the Niger, that new Nile, are to be given over to the culture of cotton. A new Egypt is being born.

Madagascar has begun to compete with Argentina in the production of frozen meats.

As for the subsoil, despite the millions of tons of iron, coal, manganese and phosphates which are drawn from North Africa and Indo-China, an immense field of exploration and exploitation remains open. The goal to be achieved is two-fold: the improvement of the well-being of the populations by developing this wealth and the opening up to them of all the avenues to progress and comfort, and the means of insuring for France the possibility of being self-sufficient if need be. Indo-China, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, French Occidental Africa are even now France's best customers.

More than that: the increase of agricultural production in Africa and Indo-China would enable Belgium, Holland and Switzerland to obtain from France all the foodstuffs they lack.

The equipment necessary for the modern management of these new or backward lands is still far from complete. What will the columns of this modern temple be? The chimneys of the blast furnaces which must still be built if France is to exploit and process the raw materials on the spot. She already has access to these raw materials thanks to an immense network of roads, railways and ports whose tonnage is counted in the millions—an inheritance she owes to the initiative of people like Bugeaud, Faïdherbe, Galliéni and Lyautey. This inheritance imposes new duties on her every day.

Over this appendage of France must be spread an aerial umbrella ten times vaster than the one created in the years since 1936. In addition, the completion of the trans-Saharan railways will connect all the parts of French Africa.

To develop the resources of the farmer, France must extend

the system of irrigation, which is only at its initial stages, and no longer rely on rain to water her granary.

In the backward colonies such as Equatorial Africa, Cameroon and Togoland—the two latter under French mandate—the objective is to improve the habitat, and although the results already achieved by the Pasteur Institute have been magnificent, to multiply the medical establishments and laboratories, in order to protect particularly Equatorial Africa from the epidemics which will continue to decimate the undernourished populations until the magnificent herds of the Chad have been brought into the French Congo.

This industrial and sanitary equipment, solidly based on a system of mixed Franco-native education established everywhere and extended from day to day, will permit France to lead the colonial nations associated with her toward political independence. Political education, if it tries hastily to make capital of incomplete results, leads to the worst disillusionments. Syria and Lebanon have strikingly illustrated this fact. True freedom for the colonial peoples cannot be based on hasty constitutions or improvised parliaments, but on the regular functioning of public institutions, on domestic peace and security against aggression. The formation of a public opinion and the creation of a free press will contribute to this end more than hasty assemblage of inexperienced people in makeshift elective bodies.

The touchstone of democracy is financial independence based on sound currency, a balanced budget and honest management of public funds. There must also be an independent judiciary buttressed by impartial courts of appeal, the only guarantee for those subject to jurisdiction. And thought itself must have full freedom; finally, independence can be assured only by the tax of blood, by military service given for the common defense of the little fatherland as well as for the great protecting fatherland.

To carry out such a vast program with the moral objectives we have just defined it will be necessary to obtain the assistance of material forces represented by metropolitan capital to finance works of general interest, and by Franco-native capital for the building of essential industries. French technicians will have to be used during the preparatory period; later, one can use native technicians trained in the French schools from which lawyers, engineers and architects have already been graduated.

This will involve expenditures amounting to billions for France. In the past, pioneers sacrificed their lives for this lofty colonial ideal: men like René Caillé, Francis Garnier, Paul Bert, Treich, Faidherbe, Galliéni lost their lives one after the other in the struggle or succumbed to murderous climates. French genius will be constantly put to the test, the genius born of the Revolutions of 1793 and 1848.

The main, the moral, goal to liberate populations subjected for centuries to the Black Flags, the Siamese despots, Turkish domination or the slave merchants of Central Africa, and to raise them to the civilization of Pascal, Claude Bernard, Pasteur, Branly, has already been achieved, but much remains to be done.

The economic goal is to bring the raw materials buried for centuries in the African or Asiatic soil and complementary to those of European France to the outside world, by an association profitable to all the partners, for the well-being of the French of the white race and the French of all the colored races.

The French political goal is to create a homogeneous body of one hundred million people capable of resisting all the forces of aggression to which France has been exposed since the time of Charlemagne.

The philosophical goal is to enable free thinkers and the faithful of all religions—the Gospels, the law of Mahomet,

the Books of Confucius—to live under humane laws, in an atmosphere of concord and respect for all peoples.

The goal of the world is to multiply such organisms as the British and French Empires, which are real Leagues of Nations in embryo, because they alone are capable of surviving, as has been demonstrated by two wars, and because without them there is no effective guarantee of peace.

Finally, this program is free of all imperialistic concepts, of the exploitation of one people by another, of all forms of subordination of the colored races to the white race; it is an example of the solidarity of all peoples.

STATISTICAL SURVEY

	<i>Square Miles</i>	<i>European Population</i>
FRENCH COLONIES: *		
Algeria	847,552	920,788
Tunisia	48,300	195,293
French West Africa	1,815,768	90,000
Togoland (Mandate)	20,072	646
Morocco (Protectorate)	162,120	172,481
French Equatorial Africa	972,878	4,687
Cameroon (Mandate)	166,489	2,163
Madagascar and dependencies	241,884	34,935
Somaliland	8,880	1,362
Syria and Lebanon (Mandate)	77,200	10,100
French India	196	513
Indo-China	277,504	42,000
New Caledonia	6,222	} 17,250
and dependencies	1,107	
New Hebrides	4,633	951
Settlements	1,740	22,978
St. Pierre and Miquelon	93	4,321
Guadeloupe and dependencies	688	267,000
Martinique	426	233,685
Guiana	30,880	28,810
		<hr/> 1,918,000

* Data from *Statistique Générale de la France*, 1937.

ALGERIA *

The colony is divided into 3 departments, 17 arrondissements, 308 full-fledged municipalities and 78 mixed municipalities.

Population:

7,234,684 representing an increase of 668,407 in
the last five years

French citizens	853,209
Foreigners	134,043
Moslems (French and foreign nationals)	6,247,432
Tuaregs	3,000
Southern territories	642,332
Algiers	264,322
Oran	200,671
Constantine	113,777

Budget (November 12th, 1936):

Ordinary expenditures	1,379,236,276 francs
Extraordinary expenditures	342,621,953 francs
	<hr/> 1,721,858,229 francs
Budget of postal and telegraph services	23,112,443 francs
Budget of the southern territories	27,762,965 francs
Revenues for Algiers	115,265,965 francs
Customs revenues	222,170,559 francs

Civilian and Military Hospitals:

Patients 97,421

* This and the following data from *Statistique Générale de la France*, 1936.

Agriculture:

Algiers	1,632,268 acres	3,555,084 hundredweight
Oran	2,577,033 acres	7,355,788 hundredweight
Constantine	3,544,015 acres	5,143,568 hundredweight

Crops:

Wheat, hard	5,019,079 hundredweight
Wheat, soft	3,013,353 hundredweight
Barley	6,337,947 hundredweight
Oats	1,754,926 hundredweight
Rye	7,363 hundredweight
Olive trees	3,846,749 gallons of oil
Orange trees (11,980 acres)	387,373 hundredweight
Palm trees (881,201 acres)	85,596 hundredweight
Potatoes:	
Summer crop	334,897 hundredweight
Winter crop	287,801 hundredweight
Vines (964,294 acres)	303,151,380 gallons

Mines:

318,702 acres

Livestock:

Sheep	6,400,000
Goats	2,928,000
Horned cattle	840,000
Horses	18,000
Mules	188,000
Donkeys	360,000
Camels	174,000
Hogs	56,000

Foreign trade:

Imports	3,978,000,000 francs
Exports (including 148,407,000 of ores)	2,534,000,000 francs

Navigation:

29,931 ships	444,776,016 tons
Port of Algiers:	230,000 passengers

Railroads:

Regular gauge	1,343 miles
Narrow gauge	1,672 miles

Roads:

4,347 miles	125,000 automobiles
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TUNISIA

Population: 2,603,313

Moslems	2,333,623
Europeans	213,205
Jews	59,489

Budget:

Revenues	611,319,700 francs
Expenditures	611,191,651 francs

Crops:

Wheat	4,500,000 hundredweight
Barley	750,000 hundredweight
Olive trees	550,000 hundredweight
Wine crop	37,490,000 gallons
Alfa grass	2,892,240 acres

Mines:

Phosphates	1,488,000 tons
Iron ore	722,000 tons
Lead	16,700 tons
Zinc	2,885 tons
Quicksilver	2,481 tons

Trade:

Exports	870,000,000 francs
Imports	1,034,000,000 francs

MOROCCO

Population: 6,296,012

Moslems	5,898,197
Frenchmen and foreigners	397,312

Budget:

861,733,000 francs

Public debt:

311,000,000 francs

Works projects:

60,000,000 francs a year

Agriculture: 9,546,845 acres

Barley	4,074,228 acres
Wheat, hard	2,409,935 acres
Corn	1,128,676 acres
Wheat, soft	781,254 acres
Sorghum	354,031 acres

Fruit trees:

Grape vines	18,569,479
Olive trees	7,400,844
Almond trees	3,759,456
Palm trees	895,664
Pomegranate trees	498,816
Fig trees	6,468,520

Livestock:

Oxen	1,607,982
Sheep	9,263,596
Goats	5,639,817
Donkeys	741,067
Horses and donkeys	368,062

Viticulture: 60,515 acres

Mining Industry:

Phosphates	152,316 tons
Anthracite	52,696 tons
Manganese	25,193 tons
Cobalt	4,159 tons

Trade:

Imports	1,150,000,000 francs
Exports	781,000,000 francs
Tonnage imported	861,764 tons
Tonnage exported	2,009,829 tons

Transportation:

2,770 French ships	5,900,578 tons
686 English ships	1,795,114 tons
546 German ships	1,029,926 tons
Various	3,286,000 tons

Railroads: 1,118 miles

Roads:

Main roads	2,732 miles
Subsidiary roads	1,948 miles

Tourism: 35,000 passengers

THE LEVANT

Republic of Syria	432,843 acres	2,520,639 inhabitants
Republic of Lebanon	23,118 acres	859,623 inhabitants
Republic of Latakia	15,561 acres	26,387 inhabitants
Repub. of Djebel Druse	16,802 acres	8,000 inhabitants

Budget:

The Lebanon	4,384,200 pounds
Syria	7,532,376 pounds
Djebel Druse	235,250 pounds
Latakia	1,091,200 pounds
Sandjak of Alexandretta	760,600 pounds

Customs revenues: 8,659,772 francs

Agriculture:

Wheat	475,300 hundredweight
Oats	105,600 hundredweight
Barley	3,036 hundredweight
Sorghum	721,000 hundredweight
Vetches and tares	410,250 hundredweight
Potatoes	399,200 hundredweight
Lentils	258,000 hundredweight
Tobacco	16,303 acres
Cotton	99,803 acres
Trees	471,845 acres
Vines (11,121,878 gals.)	94,935 acres

Livestock (Syria): 5,000,000 heads

Trade:

Imports	5,506,953,261 lbs.	576,000,000 francs
Exports	4,708,731,819 lbs.	329,000,000 francs

Transports:

Railroads:	911 miles	1,274,046 passengers
		1,073,075 tons of merchandise
Navigation:	2,041 steamships	4,351,195 tons
	4,570 sailing-ships	108,843 tons

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Population: 15,438,633

Dakar 94,634 inhabitants

Budget:

General budget	200,206,000 francs
Works projects and sanitation	154,231,000 francs
Supplemental budget	46,665,000 francs
Dakar	7,545,000 francs
Transportation	139,347,000 francs

Local budgets:

Senegal	101,535,000 francs
French Guinea	52,906,000 francs
Ivory Coast	97,357,000 francs
Dahomey	36,200,000 francs
Mauritania	13,785,000 francs
French Sudan	70,915,000 francs
Niger Territory	26,681,000 francs
Togoland	31,091,000 francs

Medical care:

Maternity wards	118
Medical institutions	339
Health stations	84
Dispensaries	91
Bacteriological laboratories	6
Vaccinogenic laboratory	1
Institute of social hygiene at Saint-Louis	1
Hospitals	8

Forest plantations: 150 million acres

Livestock:

Horned cattle	3,500,000
Sheep	11,700,000
Donkeys	424,000
Horses	184,000
Camels	126,000
Hogs	186,000

Customs:

Revenues 185,726,845 francs

Ten French shipping companies and five foreign shipping companies serve the colony.

Trade: 1,945,949,987 francs

Imports	1,196,523 tons
Exports	1,648,622 tons

Railroads and roads:

2,400 miles	141,446,644 ton-miles
Revenues	129,151,770
Expenditures	86,330,148

Roads:

Main arteries	7,553 miles
Graded trails	48,640 miles

Navigation:

3,174,000 tons	9,728 ships of 11,000,000 tons
Value of goods	1,115,436,537 francs
Ocean traffic	916,436,488 francs
Coast traffic	199,066,079 francs

The Senegal River is navigable for 521 miles. The network of roads and trails in Senegal is 4,659 miles long.

DAKAR

Saint Louis railway	163 miles
Dakar-Niger railway	802 miles

MAURITANIA

Miles	323,310
Inhabitants	383,098
Heads of cattle	2,500,000
Post offices	15
Miles of telegraph lines	565

Export of salt: 5,000 tons

FRENCH GUINEA

Livestock:

Oxen	400,000
Sheep	70,000
Goats	80,000

Agricultural products:

Rice, millet, almonds, palm oil, wax, rubber, sesame, gum, cola, honey, orange oil, bananas, coffee. 6,700 pounds of gold were exported in 1936

Trade: 189,565,000 francs

Orange trees: 1,500,000

Bananas: 45,045 tons

Navigation: 5,645 ships—2,583,437 tons

Railroads: 411 miles

Roads: 4,809 miles

IVORY COAST

Exploited forests	321,230 acres
Roads	8,074 miles
Navigable streams	186 miles
Coffee-shrubs and bananas	74,130 acres

DAHOMÉY

Medical care:

Hospital	1
Dispensaries	20
Maternity wards	26
Mixed municipalities	3

European plantations still little developed 4,200 acres

Intense exploitation of palm-groves by the native population

NIGER TERRITORY

Tahoua	12,638 inhabitants
Zinder	10,563 inhabitants
Matadi	8,106 inhabitants
Berni N'Koui	5,037 inhabitants
Niamey, the capital	4,973 inhabitants
Trails	4,970 miles
Post offices	18
Postal delivery stations	6
Telegraph lines	1,510 miles

Principal crops: millet and peanuts

Livestock:

Oxen	776,000
Sheep	2,600,000
Horses	66,000
Camels	40,000
Donkeys	159,000

Big deposits of salt and iron

Trade balance: 77,487,000 francs

TOGOLAND

Population	738,151
Hospital	1
Dispensary and maternity wards	48
Post offices	16

Trade balance: 31,091,000 francs

Agriculture: corn, millet, manioc, beans, yams, peanuts

Livestock:

Horned cattle	100,000
Sheep	200,000

Port of Liomé:

359 ships	24,492 tons (unloaded)
	51,927 tons (loaded)

Chamber of Commerce at Liomé

Railroads: 275 miles

Roads: 1,988 miles

CAMEROON

Divided into 17 regions

Population: 2,341,105*Public services:*

French officials	632
Native officials	1,850
Court of Appeals	1
Courts	5
Post Offices	54

Public health:

Hospitals, maternity wards and dispensaries	77
Leper hospitals	51

Cultivated land:

212,783 acres—palm-trees, rubber, coffee, banana, cocoa

Village lands: 14,609,907 acres*Imports* 126,366,000 francs*Exports* 168,329,000 francs*Transportation:*

Under German rule	211 miles
Under the French mandate	314 miles

Roads: France built 2,724 miles of roads*Navigation:*

657 ships, importing goods worth 110,818,000 francs
 exporting 152,943 tons = 153,453,000 francs

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Population: 3,465,081*Budget:* 181,571,000 francs (revenues and expenditures)*Supplemental budget:* 21,800,000 francs*Crops:*173,745 sq. miles of forests—principal product: the *Okoumé* tree

Oil-yielding products: 100,000,000 exploitable palm-trees

Crops (in acres):

Manioc	864,850
Palm-trees	370,650
Cotton	271,810
Millet and sorghum	247,100
Bananas	148,260
Peanuts	111,195
Coffee	86,485
Corn	61,775
Yams and sweet potatoes	57,333

Trade:

Gabun	130,475,872 francs
Middle Congo	124,397,462 francs
Ubanghi Shari	56,566,583 francs
Chad	28,741,305 francs
Total	340,181,202 francs

Transportation:

Railroads	318 miles
Roads	9,319 miles
Telegraph lines	4,350 miles

Navigation:

663 ships	1,232,209 tons
Goods unloaded	135,170,000 francs
Goods loaded	134,575,000 francs

MADAGASCAR

Colony divided into eight regions and ninety districts

Population: 3,797,530

Local budget: 268,846,000 francs

Special budget: 99,506,786 francs

Railroad budget: 28,450,000 francs

Customs revenues: 65,317,131 francs

Crops:

Rice, manioc, coffee, tobacco, castor-oil plant, sisal,
peanuts, copra

Forests: 14,826,000 acres

Livestock:

Oxen	7 to 8,000,000
Sheep	. . 250,000
Horses	3,000

Mines: graphites, beryl, mica, phosphates

Factories: starches, raffia, sugar-cane, rum, frozen meats

Trade:

Imports	306,082,146 francs	270,510,317 pounds
Exports	436,182,533 francs	449,855,160 pounds
Sales to Metropolitan France	232,000,000 francs	
Purchases from Metropolitan France	351,000,000 francs	

Navigation:

5 ships Most important port: Tamatave 120,000 tons

Railroads: 559 miles

Air transportation:

Mail	5,760 pounds
Passengers	228

Roads:

Miles	1,242
Automobiles	4,500

Public library:

Volumes	38,000
Readers a year	30,000

THE COMORO ISLANDS

Total area: 790 sq. miles (4 islands)

Population: 124,000

Exports:

Sisal	2,552,000 lbs.
Copra	1,695,000 lbs.
Vanilla	218,900 lbs.
Sugar	108,570 lbs.
Rum	30,701 lbs.

Trade balance: 11,756,782 pounds 8,050,605 francs

Port traffic:

Mayotte	23,092 tons
Maroni (Great Comoro)	80,723 tons
Anjuan	121,849 tons
Moheli	66,848 tons

Saint Paul, Amsterdam and Kerguelen Islands have barely begun to be exploited

INDO-CHINA

Five territories: Cochin-China, Annam, Tongking,
Laos and Cambodia

The territory of Kwangchow

Population:

Cochin-China	4,615,500
Cambodia	3,046,300
Annam	5,656,000
Laos	1,012,000
Tongking	8,700,000
Total	23,029,500

Kwangchow: 211,000 for an area of 523 sq. miles

General budget: 60,160,705 piastres

Local budgets:

Cochin-China	11,740,000 piastres
Tongking	11,682,834 piastres
Annam	8,428,135 piastres
Cambodia	6,986,928 piastres
Laos	2,969,000 piastres
Kwangchow	495,086 piastres

Supplemental budget:

Public works	19,044,135 piastres
Railroads	5,206,715 piastres

Customs revenues: 13,000,000 piastres

Administration:

Courts of appeal	2
Criminal courts	2
Law courts	15

Medical care: 652 health institutions

Crops:

Rice, 7,000,000 tons of which 1,763,044 exported

Land under cultivation:

Rice	12,355,000 acres	Production	7,000,000 tons
Corn	1,235,500 acres	Production	600,000 tons
Cane	98,840 acres	Production	60,000 tons
Tea	64,286 acres	Production	15,000 tons
Tobacco	51,891 acres	Production	12,600 tons

Livestock: 3,500,000 oxen

Mines:

Anthracite	2,150,000 tons
Other products: Zinc, tin, lead	

Industries:

Rice-mills, distilleries, sugar factories, match-factories, cement, hydraulic lime, paper-mills, native cloth mills, inlaying, lacquer, silk embroideries, lace, pottery works, baskets

Trade balance: 2,705,635,000 francs

Imports 4,793,460 tons

Exports 4,505,482 tons

Special trade: 2,682,779,000 francs

Transportation: 2,101 miles of railroads

Waterways: 1,242 miles

Roads: 5,407 miles of colonial roads—31,300 automobiles

Total network: 18,641 miles

Telegraph lines: 11,442 miles

Navigation:

Saigon	6,340 ships	8,867,143 tons
Haiphong	20,675 ships	4,884,530 tons
Tourane	5,753 ships	2,423,492 tons

Forest of Cambodia: 9,884,000 acres

GUIANA

Population: 30,876 inhabitants in Guiana and 1,861 inhabitants in Inini, in addition to 661 native tribes whose census was not taken

Budget: 17,474,755 francs (*Inini:* 3,329,500 francs)

Crops:

Rice, corn, cocoa, vanilla, forests, oils, bully-tree
and rosewood

Trade:

Imports	41,555,902
Exports	25,626,904
Gold	23,735,000

Navigation:

Imports	45,343,821 francs
Exports	26,536,884 francs
524 ships; value of goods transported	71,880,705 francs

MARTINIQUE

Population: 246,712 (*Fort de France:* 52,051)

Budget: 101,100,000 francs—loans 41,749,000

Supplemental budget: 930,000

Crops: 197,680 acres (registered)

Sugar cane	45,392 acres
Bananas and miscellaneous	8,030 acres
Yams and miscellaneous	15,372 acres
Savannas	55,704 acres
Woods	35,338 acres

Livestock:

Horses	6,257
Donkeys and mules	6,423
Oxen	14,743
Cows and calves	15,803
Sheep	21,393
Goats	13,987
Hogs	13,019

Value of sugar and rum production: 140,000,000 francs

Navigation: 723 ships comprising 128,335 tons

GUADELOUPE

Population: 304,320 (*Pointe à Pitre:* 43,551)

<i>Budget:</i>	56,568,358 francs
<i>Special budget:</i>	25,130,000 francs
	1,900,000 francs
	2,120,032 francs
	1,909,000 francs

Crops:

Sugar cane	63,011 acres
Coffee	12,443 acres
Cocoa	1,433 acres
Cocoa, coffee, bananas	63,011 acres
Food crops	35,582 acres
Other crops	9,884 acres

Trade: 302,373,000 francs

Imports	125,219,159 francs
Exports	174,769,759 francs

Navigation:

1,363 ships	2,380,102 tons
179,159 tons of goods	value 302,374,000 francs

ST. PIERRE AND MIQUELON

Population: 4,321*Budget:* 8,317,660 francs*Industry:* cod-fishing*Trade:*

Imports	29,527 tons	13,683,000 francs
Exports	23,835 tons	38,679,000 francs

FRENCH SOMALILAND

Population: 1,881 European and 44,420 natives*Budget:* 13,759,639 francs*Trade:* 520,597,000 francs

Imports	83,800,000 francs	83,338 tons
Exports	147,584,000 francs	68,362 tons
Transit	213,843,000 francs	68,590 tons
	75,370,000 francs	8,773 tons
	<hr/> 520,597,000 francs	<hr/> 229,063 tons

Ethiopia's share is 80,508,000 francs

Navigation:

Djibouti: 1,198 ships of 2,170,234 tons; goods unloaded
406,714,000 francs

REUNION

Population: 208,850 inhabitants of whom 5,539 Madagascans
St. Denis: 30,762 inhabitants

Budget: 63,097,200 francs

Supplemental budget: 27,445,800 francs

Public debt: 3,537,947 francs

Crops: sugar

Trade:

Imports	1,369,559,117 francs
Exports	1,090,953,300 francs
Exports of sugar and rum	110,000,000 francs

Navigation:

Point des Gallets: 75 ships with 37,000 tons unloaded and
73 foreign ships with 56,000 tons unloaded

FRENCH INDIA

Population: 298,951

Pondichéry	73,018 acres
Katikal	33,396 acres
Yanaon	3,531 acres
Mahé	14,601 acres
Chandernagor	2,323 acres

Total area: 196 square miles*Budget:* 3,269,715 rupees*Industry:* 4 spinning-mills*Trade:* 181,519,000 francs

Imports	98,812,000 francs
Exports	82,707,000 francs
of which: 44,000,000 francs worth of fabrics	

Navigation:

71 steamships, 290,138 tons, 60,000,000 francs' worth of
goods transported

OCEANIA

Population: 43,600

Papeete	8,456
Leeward Islands	9,544
Mooria	2,251
Gambier	490
Marquesas	2,400

Budget: 13,575,400 francs*Crops:* Coconut-trees, 54,362 acres*Trade:* 170,069 tons. Value: 75,709,000 francs

Imports	22,781 tons	36,741,000 francs
Exports	147,288 tons	39,968,000 francs

Navigation:

76 ships, 29,138 tons. Value of goods: 311,710,000 francs

NEW CALEDONIA

Population:

(Including the New Hebrides, Wallis Archipelago and Fortuna): 53,343

Budget: 30,000,000 francs

Customs revenues: 19,156,000 francs

Crops and Mines:

Niaouli, coffee, cotton, rice, corn, sugar, tobacco, cocoa

Livestock:

horses and donkeys	9,554
horned cattle	97,904
sheep	5,392
goats	6,753
hogs	7,108

Ores: nickel exports: 7,039 tons

Family industry of niaouli and gomenol:

Exports 2,057,585 francs

Trade: 220,212 tons. Value: 113,915,000 francs

Exports	97,509 tons
Imports	122,712 tons

Navigation (Nouméa): 329 ships, 390,000 tons

*The Wallis Archipelago and Fortuna:**Population:* 6,800*Local industry:* copra*Budget:* 401,500 francs

THE NEW HEBRIDES

Franco-British Condominium: 1,722 French—251 English

Native population: 50,000*Budget:* 5,776,000 francs*Trade:*

Exports	9,720,295 francs
Imports	13,683,000 francs

APPENDIX A

ORGANISATION OF THE
FRENCH VOLUNTEER FORCE

*Letter and Memorandum of
Mr. Winston Churchill to General de Gaulle.*

10 Downing Street, London, S.W. 1,
August 7, 1940

Dear General de Gaulle,

You were good enough to give me your ideas as to the organisation, employment and conditions of service of the French volunteer force now being assembled under your command, in your capacity, in which you are recognised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, of leader of all free Frenchmen, wherever they may be, who rally to you in support of the Allied Cause.

I now send you a memorandum which, if you concur, will be agreed between us as governing the organisation, employment and conditions of service of your force.

I would take this opportunity of stating that it is the determination of His Majesty's Government, when victory has been gained by the Allied arms, to secure the full restoration of the independence and greatness of France.

Yours sincerely,
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

I

(1) General de Gaulle is engaged in raising a French force composed of volunteers. This force, which includes naval, land and air units and scientific and technical personnel, will be organised and employed against the common enemies.

(2) This force will never be required to take up arms against France.

II

(1) This force will, as far as possible, retain the character of a French force in respect of personnel, particularly as regards discipline, language, promotion and duties.

(2) So far as may be necessary for their equipment, this force will have priority of allocation as regards property in and the use of material (particularly weapons, aircraft, vehicles, ammunition, machinery and supplies) which has already been brought by French armed forces from any quarter, or which may so be brought in the future by such French forces, into territory under the authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or into territory where the British High Command exercises authority. In the case of French forces, the command of which has been delegated by agreement between General de Gaulle and the British High Command, no transfer, exchange or reallocation of equipment, property and material in possession of these forces will be made by order of General de Gaulle without prior consultation and agreement with the British High Command.

(3) His Majesty's Government will, as soon as practicable, supply the French force with the additional equipment which

may be essential to equip its units on a scale equivalent to that of British units of the same type.

(4) Naval vessels from the French fleet will be allocated as follows:—

- (a) The French force will commission and operate as many vessels as it is able to man.
- (b) The allocation of the vessels to be commissioned and operated by the French force under (a) will be a matter for agreement from time to time between General de Gaulle and the British Admiralty.
- (c) Vessels not allocated under (b) to the French force will be available for commissioning and operating under the direction of the British Admiralty.
- (d) Of the vessels mentioned under (c) some may be operated under direct British control and some may be operated by other allied naval forces.
- (e) Vessels operated under British control will when possible include in their complement a proportion of French officers and men.
- (f) All vessels concerned will remain French property.

(5) The possible use of French merchant ships and of their crews, in so far as this is for the purpose of military operations by General de Gaulle's force, will be the subject of arrangements between General de Gaulle and the British departments concerned. Regular contact will be maintained between the Ministry of Shipping and General de Gaulle as regards the use of the rest of the ships and the employment of the merchant seamen.

(6) General de Gaulle, who is in supreme command of the French force, hereby declares that he accepts the general direction of the British High Command. When necessary, he will delegate, in agreement with the British High Command, the immediate command of any part of his force to one or

more British officers of appropriate rank, subject to what is stated at the end of Article I above.

III

The status of French volunteers will be established in the following manner:—

(1) Volunteers will enrol for the duration of the war for the purpose of fighting against the common enemies.

(2) They will receive pay on a basis to be settled separately by agreement between General de Gaulle and the Departments concerned. The period of time during which such rates will apply will be a matter for settlement between General de Gaulle and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

(3) The volunteers and their dependents will be granted pensions and other benefits in respect of the disablement or death of the volunteers on a basis to be settled by separate agreement between General de Gaulle and the Departments concerned.

(4) General de Gaulle will be entitled to form a civil establishment containing the administrative services required for the organisation of his force, the numbers and emoluments of the members of this establishment being settled in consultation with the British Treasury.

(5) The General will also be entitled to recruit technical and scientific staff for war work. The numbers, manner of remuneration and method of employment of this staff will be settled in consultation with the Departments of His Majesty's Government concerned.

(6) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will use their best endeavours, at the time of the conclusion of peace, to help the French volunteers to regain any rights, in-

cluding national status, of which they may have been deprived as a result of their participation in the struggle against the common enemies. His Majesty's Government are willing to afford special facilities to such volunteers to acquire British nationality, and will seek any necessary powers.

IV

(1) Any expenditure incurred for the purpose of the constitution and maintenance of the French force under the provisions of this agreement will be met, in the first instance, by the appropriate Departments of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which will be entitled to exercise any necessary examination and audit.

(2) The sums required will be regarded as advances and specially recorded; all questions relating to the ultimate settlement of these advances, including any credits which may be set off by agreement, will be a matter for subsequent arrangement.

V

This agreement shall be regarded as having come into force on the 1st July, 1940.

APPENDIX B

P R E S I D E N T R O O S E V E L T ' S P R O C L A M A T I O N

*in connection with military operations in French North Africa,
broadcast by radio to the French people, November 7, 1942:*

"My friends, who suffer day and night under the crushing yoke of the Nazis, I speak to you as one who was with your army and navy in France in 1918.

I have held all my life the deepest friendship for the French people—for the entire French people. I retain and cherish the friendship of hundreds of French people in France and outside of France. I know your farms, your villages and your cities. I know your soldiers, professors and workmen. I know what a precious heritage of the French people are your homes, your culture and the principles of democracy in France.

I salute again and reiterate my faith in liberty, equality and fraternity. No two nations exist which are more united by historic and mutually friendly ties than the people of France and the United States.

Americans, with the assistance of the United Nations, are striving for their own safe future as well as the restoration of the ideals, the liberties, and the democracy of all those who have lived under the tricolor.

We come among you solely to defeat and route your

enemies. Have faith in our words. We do not want to cause you any harm.

We assure you that, once the menace of Germany and Italy is removed from you, we shall quit your territory at once.

I am appealing to your realism, to your self-interest and national ideals.

Do not obstruct, I beg of you, this great purpose.

Help us where you are able, my friends, and we shall see again the glorious day when liberty and peace shall reign again on earth.

Vive la France éternelle!"

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau	Histoire des Colonies Françaises
André Maurois	Lyautey
Albert de Pouvourville	Francis Garnier
André Lichtenberger	Bugeaud
Yung	L'Islam et les Musulmans de l'Afrique du Nord
Georges Hardy	Histoire de la Colonisation Française
Saintoyant	Les Colonies Françaises sous l'Ancien Régime
Albert Sarraut	La mise en valeur des colonies françaises
Parkman	Works
Charles de la Roncière	L'Amérique française
Victor Piquet	Histoire des Colonies françaises
Gabriel Hanotaux	Richelieu
Paul Sicard	Monde Musulman dans les possessions françaises
Gsell	Histoire de l'Algérie
Victor Bérard	L'Angleterre et l'Impérialisme

Harry Rudolph Rudin	Germans in the Cameroon
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Johannès Tramond	Éléments d'histoire maritime et coloniale
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Pierre Paul Leroy-Beaulieu	De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes
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	La conquête de l'Algérie
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Tramond et Reussner	Eléments d'histoire maritime et coloniale contemporaine
A. Tardieu	La conférence d'Algésiras
Maréchal Lyautey	Paroles d'action

LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
The French Colonial Empire in America	
	<i>between pages 44 and 45</i>
Canada and Newfoundland	48
The West Indies	56
North and West Africa	119
French Equatorial Africa	170
Madagascar	180
India and Indo-China	190
Oceania	210
New Caledonia and the New Hebrides	214
Egypt, Syria and Lebanon	222

I N D E X

- Abbas, 103
 Abbas I, 244
 Abd-el-Krim, 141
 Abdu-l-Aziz, 138, 139
 Abdu-l-Kadir, 123, 129-131, 138, 140, 158
 Abidjan, 167
 Abomey, 167
 Aboukir, 102
 Acadia, 20, 35, 37, 46, 49, 59, 62-64, 66, 69, 78
 Achaea, 15, 97
 Adana, 100
 Aden, 177
 Addis-Ababa, 177
 Adrar, 163
 Aenna, 172
 Agadir, 139, 175
 Agoué, 167
 Ahmadou, 160-162
 Ahmed Bey, 133, 134
 Ahmenides, 249
 Aix-la-Chapelle (Treaty of), 63, 89
 Alba, Duke of, 35
 Albuquerque, Duke of, 188
 Aleppo, 53, 86, 224, 243
 Alexander I, 24
 Alexander of Rhodes, Father, 188, 192
 Alexandretta, 224, 275
 Alexandria, 17, 101, 102, 104-106, 243
 Algeciras, 138, 139
 Algeria, 11, 21-24, 39, 110, 111, 113, 114, 120-126, 129-133, 137, 138, 142-144, 154, 168, 174, 182, 195, 258, 259, 261, 267
 Algiers, 8, 112, 117, 120-122, 130, 131, 256, 268-270
 Allcote, 85
 Alouites, 9, 224
 Alphonse I, 17
 Amasia, 100
 Amazon, 49, 77, 78
 America, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 32, 34-36, 44, 51, 58, 65, 68, 69, 84, 88, 96, 124, 147, 191, 237
 Amiens (Treaty of), 149
 Amokou, 149
 Amsterdam, 33, 235, 236
 Amsterdam Island, 288
 Anecho, 226, 227
 Angkor, 186, 195
 Ango, Jean, 18, 32, 33, 37, 44, 57, 64, 84, 153, 171
 Angoulevant, 167
 Anjuan, 181, 288
 Annam, 6, 7, 22, 92, 112, 113, 142, 186, 188, 189, 191-196, 198-201, 203-206, 255, 260, 289
 Annapolis, 59
 Anticosti, see Assumption
 Antigua, 36
 Antilles, 20, 36, 37, 46, 69, 72, 73, 82,

Antilles—*continued*

114, 148, 155, 157, 179, 195, 226,
239

Antioch, 16, 96, 97

Antonio, Father, 188

Antourer, 221

Apadana, 249

Arabia, 17, 53

Arabs, 113, 120, 129, 137, 223, 245,
259

Aragon, 16

Aiakan, 188

Arcate, 88, 89

Archinard, 160, 161

Ardas, 149

Argentina, 76, 261

Arkansas, 62

Armenia, 16, 223, 248

Artois, 67

Ascalon, 97

Assinie, 149, 164, 166

Assumption, 57

Athens, 9, 15, 97

Atlantic Charter, 4, 27, 142, 253

Atlas Mountains, 120, 122, 141

Augsburg League, 62, 63

Aulnay, d', 62

Aurore, 215

Aurungzeb, 53, 87

Austerlitz, 21, 127, 247

Austral Islands, 38, 212

Australia, 5, 20, 38, 211, 215, 256

Austria, 138

Auxerre, 127

Azem Palace, 9

Azores, 71

Bac-Ninh, 200

Bafoulabé, 159, 160

Bagdad, 100, 221

Baguere, 174

Baguirmi, 173

Baie du Lévrier, 158

Bailleul, 16

Bainville, Théodore de, 154

Bakel, 152

Ba-Lac, 195

Balasore, 87

Baldwin of Flanders, 97

Baldwin II, 15

Baldwin III, 15, 24, 97

Baleares, 121

Ballay, Noel, 172

Bamako, 160, 161

Bambuk, 152

Banca Island, 53

Bandama, 167

Bandar Abu Shehr, 248

Bangkok, 194, 203

Barbados, 71

Barbary Coast, 98, 120

Barbé-Marbois, 68

Barcelona, 16

Bardo (Treaty of), 134

Barre, de la, 64

Baron, François, 53, 54, 85

Bart, Jean, 38

Barthou, Louis, 145

Basel (Treaty of), 73

Batavia, 50, 53, 87, 189, 209, 211, 238

Batkambang, 195

Bavaria, 14, 33

Bayol, 165

Beau, Governor, 205

Beauharnais, Marquis de, 63

Beauheu, Augustin de, 79

Beauvais, Juste de, 244

Beber, 244

Bec de Canard, 175, 230

Bedeau, 124

Béhaine, Pierre Bigneau de, 193

Béhenzin, 168

Beirut, 8, 9, 17, 99, 100, 221, 224

Beleger, 246

Bellefonds, Villault de, 149

Belgium, 3, 6, 14, 112, 220, 257, 261

Bellosa, Diego, 188

Benderai, 245

Bengal, 37, 50, 83, 86-88, 90-94

Benghi, 175

Bengue, 174

Beni Ouarain, 141

Bénin, 148, 155, 165, 167, 168, 171,
226

Benoit-Dumas, 87, 88

Benoué, 230

Benyonski, 81

Bien-Hoa, 194

- Biloxi Bay, 65
 Binger, 160, 166
 Bismarck, 13, 111
 Bizerte, 134
 Berbers, 23, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 259
 Berlin, 105, 111, 112, 163, 173
 Bermudas, 6
 Berni N'Koui, 280
 Bernou, Abbé, 64
 Bert, Paul, 39, 200, 203, 263
 Berthier, 21, 68
 Béthencourt, Jean de, 44, 55, 146
 Bissandougou, 161
 Blanchet, 163
 Blois, Count of, 14
 Blouet, 94
 Boffa, 164
 Boichut, General, 141
 Boigne, de, 95
 Bolivar, 21
 Black Flags, 7, 200
 Bombay, 52
 Bonaparte, see Napoleon I
 Bône, 120, 122
 Bonneuil, Etienne de, 14
 Bonnier, Colonel, 162
 Bordeaux, 55, 69, 153, 167, 193
 Borgnis-Desbordes, 160
 Borneo, 92
 Bosphorus, 99
 Bou-Amama, 123
 Bou-Denib, 141
 Boufflers, Count de, 148
 Bougainville, 63, 193, 209, 211, 215
 Bougie, 120, 154
 Boulay, de la, 244
 Bourde, Paul, 136, 182
 Bourdonnais, Mahé de la, 82, 87-89
 Boussa, 163
 Boxers, 202
 Boyne, Bourgeois de, 81
 Boyer, General, 21
 Braulot, 161
 Brakna, 153
 Brayama, 165
 Brazil, 18, 33, 44, 45, 57, 75, 76-78, 146, 171
 Brazza, Savorgnan de, 38, 154, 171-174
 Brazzaville, 173, 175
 Breda (Treaty of), 62
 Bréhier, Louis, 101
 Brest, 84
 Bretigny, Pierre de, 77
 Briand, Aristide, 25
 Brière de l'Isle, 159, 160, 165, 200
 Britain, British Commonwealth, British Empire: see England
 Brittany, 70
 Broglie, de, 198
 Brue, André, 147, 148
 Bruguière, Guillaume, 247
 Brune, Marshal, 247
 Brussels, 112, 172, 254
 Bussy, de, 90-95, 102
 Buck, Pearl, 185
 Bugeaud, General, 40, 123-125, 127-129, 131, 132, 145, 154, 258, 261
 Bulgaria, 24
 Burdeau, 22
 Burma, 4, 31, 90, 201, 255
 Byzantium, 15, 16, 64
 Cabot, Jean, 34
 Cadia, 59
 Cadillac, Lamotte, 66
 Cadiz, 15, 88, 143
 Caesarea, 100
 Caillaux, 139, 140
 Caillé, René, 38, 152, 153, 165, 263
 Cairo, 101, 102, 104, 105
 Calcutta, 53, 88, 91, 94
 California, 260
 Cambodia, 6, 22, 186, 188, 191, 194, 195, 204, 205, 255, 289, 291
 Cambon, Jules, 23
 Cambon, Paul, 136
 Cameron, 40, 173, 174, 220, 230, 231, 262, 267
 Canada, 5, 13, 20, 31, 35-37, 46, 47, 49, 52, 57, 59-61, 63-67, 72, 101, 113, 124, 209
 Canaries, 55, 146
 Canope, 102
 Cape Blanco, 163
 Cape Juby, 163

- Cape Lopez, 146
 Cape of Good Hope, 36, 37, 44, 45, 49,
 79, 96, 98, 101, 235, 237, 238
 Cape Verde, 49, 148, 152
 Capuchins, 100, 244, 245
 Carganor, 53
 Carmelites, 100, 244, 245
 Caron, 53, 84, 85
 Carrel, 238
 Cartagena, 21
 Carteret, 215
 Cartier, Jacques, 20, 35, 37, 57, 58
 Casablanca, 8, 139, 144
 Casamance, 158
 Castille, 16
 Catalonia, 16
 Catherine de Medici, 57
 Catroux, General, 6
 Cavaignac, 131
 Cayenne, 76, 77
 Cayer, 148, 158
 Cécile, Admiral, 193
 Cellier, 238
 Cervantes, 121
 Ceuta, 120
 Ceylon, 33, 37, 50, 53, 85, 93, 235
 Chad, 22, 112, 113, 152, 162, 173-175,
 230, 262, 284
 Chagres, 240, 241
 Challes, Robert, 47
 Chamberlain, 24
 Champa, 185, 187
 Champlain, 19, 20, 35, 37, 45, 46, 58,
 153, 239
 Champollion, 7, 103, 106
 Chandernagor, 87, 88, 91, 92, 94, 297
 Changarnier, 130
 Chanoine, 174
 Chantaboun, 203
 Chantail, 77
 Charlemagne, 14, 98, 221, 263
 Charles II, 36, 72, 147
 Charles V, 18, 32
 Charles VIII, 18
 Charles X, 74, 110, 122
 Charlesbourg Royal, 58
 Charner, 194
 Charpentier, 50, 79, 80
 Chasseloup-Laubat, 109, 197
 Chauvin, 35, 58
 Che-Kan, 208
 Chefneuf, 178
 Chicago, 62
 China, 5, 7, 16, 18, 33, 55, 80, 185, 186,
 191, 193, 194, 198, 200-202, 208,
 253, 255
 Chleus, 140
 Choiseul, 52, 67, 78, 101
 Chungking, 5
 Churchill, Winston, 4, 6, 253, 257, App.
 Cilicia, 221, 223
 Cipango, 20
 Cîteaux, 17
 Clairvaux, 17
 Claudel, 124
 Clemenceau, 11, 21, 25, 105, 111, 113,
 134, 139, 199, 200
 Cleux, Captain de, 73
 Clipperton, 72, 212
 Clotaire II, 14
 Cluny, 17
 Cochinchina, 11, 90, 109, 114, 142,
 185, 187-189, 191, 192, 194-197,
 204, 205, 255, 289
 Coelho, 188
 Cocur, Jacques, 16, 17, 55, 98
 Colonial Pact, 20, 227, 257
 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 19, 20, 32, 34-
 38, 40, 43, 44, 47, 49-52, 54, 60, 61,
 64, 65, 77, 79-81, 84-86, 98, 121,
 124, 137, 179, 226, 244, 246
 Coligny, 35, 37, 57, 75, 76
 Colon, 239
 Columbia, 239, 242
 Comoros, 53, 80, 181, 184, 288
Compagnie d'Afrique, 133
Compagnie des Cent Associés, 36, 47,
 59
Compagnie de Galam, 154
Compagnie de la Côte d'Or et de la
Guinée, 149
Compagnie de l'Afrique Equatoriale,
 163
Campagne de la Terre Ferme d'Amé-
rique, 49
Compagnie de Madagascar, 182
Compagnie de Saint Malo, 79
Compagnie des Iles d'Amérique, 71

- Compagnie des Indes*, 80-82, 86, 87,
 93, 94, 147-149, 244
Compagnie des Indes Occidentales,
 49, 51, 60, 71, 77
Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 46,
 47, 49, 79, 84, 179
Compagnie d'Esambuc, 46
*Compagnie de la Nouvelle France et
 d l'Acadie*, 62
Compagnie des Pyrénées, 51
Compagnie d'Occident, 66
Compagnie d'Orient, 79
Compagnie d'Ouari et de Bénin, 149
Compagnie du Cap Vert, 47, 49, 147
Compagnie du Levant, 51
Compagnie du Nord, 47, 51
Compagnie du Sénégal, 47, 147
Compagnie Française de L'Inde, 52,
 84
Compagnie Normande, 79
Compagnie Occidentale, 67
 Comte, Auguste, 76
 Conakry, 165
 Condamine, La, 78
 Confucius, 260, 264
 Congo, 8, 22, 111, 112, 139, 171, 172-
 175, 262, 284
 Constantine, 122, 123, 268, 269
 Constantinople, 15, 97, 99-101, 122,
 243-245, 247
 Conway, Count de, 93
 Cook, Captain, 184, 209, 212, 213, 215
 Coppolani, 163
 Corinth, 15, 97
 Cormenin, Hayes de, 243, 244
 Cornwallis, Lord, 68, 94, 95
 Coromandel, 50, 86
 Cortez, 55
 Coste, 249
 Cotonou, 167, 168
 Coudreau, Henri, 78
 Courbet, Admiral, 199, 200
 Cousin, Jean, 75
 Crampel, 174
 Crevaux, Dr., 78
 Crémieux, 259
 Crimea, 111, 194
 Cromwell, 86
 Cronje (Cronier), 238
 Crozat, 66
 Cuba, 32
 Culebra, 240, 241
 Cyprus, 15, 16
 Dahehur, 249
 Dahomey, 112, 113, 149, 162, 167,
 226, 227, 276
 Dakar, 144, 148, 158, 159, 168, 256,
 276, 278
 Damascus, 16, 223, 224
 Danube, 13, 14
 Darien, 239
 Darius, 249
 Decaen, General, 83, 93
 Deccan, 89-92, 94
 De Grasse, 68, 73
 Delcassé, Théophile, 106, 112, 138
 Delft, 236
 Delhi, 37, 84, 91, 95
 Delphi, 13
 Denycans, 72
 Desbordes, 161
 Deschamps, Eustache, 15
 Dessalines, 74
 Devicotta, 89
 Diderot, 21
 Dienne, 153
 Dieppe, 18, 32, 33, 57, 69, 75, 79
 Dieulafoy, 249
 Dinguiraja, 160
 Djebel Druses, 9, 223, 225, 275
 Djemaa, 143
 Djibouti, 177, 178, 295
 Dodds, 168
 Doriot, Jacques, 141
 Dorth, 230
 Douala, 230, 231
 Doumer, 40, 204
 Drakenstein, 237, 238
 Dubreka, 165
 Ducasse, 149
 Duesberg, 45
 Dufresne, Marion, 38, 209
 Dunlaer, 89
 Duperré, 164
 Dupetit Thouars, Admiral, 211, 212
 Duplex, 20, 38, 52, 87-91, 102, 192
 Duplessis, 238

- Dupré, Admiral, 197, 198
 Dupuis, Jean, 38, 197, 198, 200
 Duquesne, 33, 49, 72, 121
 Dutch Indies, 6, 31, 253

 East India Company, 33, 235
 Ecole Coloniale, 39
 Edessa, 97
 Edward VII, 199
 Egypt, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 37, 55,
 97, 101-106, 111, 112, 121, 134, 137,
 138, 175, 261
 Elbée, d', 149
 Eldorado, 78
 El-Hadj-Omar, 157, 158, 160
 El-Hiba, 140
 Elisabeth, Queen, 34, 35
 Embrun, Pierre Simon d', 236
 England, 3-6, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 26, 31,
 33-36, 37, 43, 51, 55, 59, 64, 65, 67,
 68, 72, 91, 92, 94, 95, 99, 102, 104-
 106, 110-112, 121, 138, 148, 153,
 162, 163, 174, 179, 193, 194, 197,
 198, 199, 201, 202, 208, 212, 220,
 223, 224, 227, 238, 247-249, 253-
 256, 264
 Entente Cordiale, 22
 Entrecasteaux, d', 211, 215
 Epinay, Madame d', 246
 Esnambuc, 71
 Estrées, d', 121, 147
 Etcheparre, Captain d', 66
 Ethiopia, 16, 177, 178, 239, 253, 295
 Etienne, Eugène, 113, 160, 166
 Etoile, M. de l', 244
 Euphrates, 221

 Fabre, Jean Baptiste, 245
 Faidherbe, 38, 40, 117, 131, 145, 153,
 154, 156-158, 163, 165, 261, 263
 Fai-Fo, 188, 189, 193
 Falklands, 72
 Faria, Antonio, 188
 Farquhar, 179, 181
 Fashoda, 106, 112, 174
 Feisal, Emir, 223, 224
 Ferréol, de, 245
 Ferry, Jules, 16, 21, 111, 112, 113, 134,
 135, 139, 160, 182, 199, 200, 258

 Fez, 138-141
 Finkenstein, 248
 Flacourt, Etienne de, 80
 Flandin, 249
 Flegel, 230
 Florida, 27, 49, 57, 65, 68, 76
 Foch, Marshal, 256
 Fogg, Philéas, 3, 9
 Fontainebleau, 127
 Foochow, 200
 Forbonnais, 51
 Fort Archambault, 174
 Fort Bayard, 208
 Fort Dauphin, 80-82
 Fort de France, 291
 Fort Royal, 63
 Fort Saint Louis, 147
 Fortuna, 299, 300
 Foucault, 38
 Foulques V, 14
 Foulques Nerra, 14
 Foulques of Neuilly, 96
 Fou Nnam, 186
 Fouquet, 77, 80
 Foureau, 174
 Fouta Djallon, 152, 153, 164-166
 France, 3, 6, 8, 11-13, 15, 16, 19-26,
 31-37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 49, 52, 54,
 55, 58-65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 74, 76-78,
 80-82, 86, 87, 91-93, 95, 98-102,
 105, 106, 111-114, 116, 118, 121,
 122, 128, 129, 131-135, 138-149,
 151, 155, 157-162, 164-166, 172-
 179, 181-183, 185, 189, 191-203, 207,
 208, 211-213, 215, 220, 221, 223-
 231, 236, 237, 239, 241, 243-246,
 248, 249, 254-257, 259-261, 263,
 264, 287
 Francis I, 17, 18, 32, 33, 57, 58, 75,
 98, 101, 116, 121, 137
 Francopoule, Hervé de, 16
 Franklin, Benjamin, 82
 Frederick the Great, 21, 128
 French Equatorial Africa, 11, 38, 40,
 114, 143, 154, 171, 175, 176, 229,
 260, 262, 267, 284
 French West Africa, 10, 38, 40, 114,
 150, 155, 162, 167, 168, 261, 267
 Fresne, Colonel de, 93

- Freycinet, 105, 134
 Fronde, 19, 32, 43, 47, 77
 Frontenac, Count of, 52, 61, 62
 Fundy, Bay of, 59

 Gabun, 112, 164, 168, 171, 173, 175, 284
 Galam, 152
 Galata, 100
 Galatea, 186
 Galilee, 97
 Galliéni, 39, 40, 117, 131, 145, 159, 160, 166, 183, 184, 202, 212, 261, 263
 Gambetta, 105, 134, 198
 Gambia, 79, 146, 148, 151, 152, 160
 Gambier, 212, 298
 Gandhi, 27
 Gao, 162
 Gardane, Colonel, 248
 Gardiol, Jean, 237
 Garnier, Francis, 22, 38, 197-200, 263
 Garroway, 164, 166
 Gast, Pierre du, 58, 59
 Gaul, 14
 Gaulle, General de, 257, App.
 Gauthier, 94
 Genoa, 16
 Genouilly, Admiral Rigault de, 194
 Gentil, Colonel, 95, 174
 Geoffrey Plantagenet, 15
 Georgia, 248
 Géricault, 152
 Germany, 14, 17, 20, 111, 112, 138-141, 175, 176, 202, 220, 227, 255, 257
 Gia Long, 193
 Gia Lung, 187
 Gibraltar, 138
 Gibson, Hugh, 5
 Gléglé (King), 168
 Goa, 53
 Gobineau, Count de, 248
 Godeheu, 51
 Godfrey of Bouillon, 15, 55, 96, 97
 Gold Coast, 18, 149, 151, 162, 164, 166, 167, 227
 Gondelour, 89
 Gonneville, Paulmier de, 18, 57, 75
 Gonzalez, Blas Ruy de Hernan, 188
 Gorée, 147-149, 158, 159, 164, 171
 Gorgot, Nicolas, 70
 Gouraud, 117, 161, 163
 Gourgues, Dominique de, 37, 76
 Grain Coast, 164
 Grand Bassam, 164, 166
 Grand Popo, 168
 Grandes Cyclades, 215
 Grande Mascareigne, 79, 82
 Grandière, Admiral de la, 195, 196
 Gravière, Admiral de la, 122
 Great Kabylia, 123
 Greece, 13, 15, 24, 99, 140, 257
 Gregory VII, 17
 Grenada, 71
 Gribingui, 174
 Guadeloupe, 11, 71, 73, 74, 154, 267, 294
 Guam, 256
 Gudovich, Marshal, 248
 Guiana, 46, 69, 71, 76-78, 110, 176, 179, 213, 267, 291
 Guinea, 37, 112, 113, 151, 153, 160, 164, 166, 169, 173, 227, 276, 279
 Guizot, 122, 123, 194, 239

 Hachelaga, 58
 Hachette, Jeanne, 62
 Haiphong, 291
 Haiti, 74
 Hamburg, 14, 226
 Hanoi, 194, 197-199, 207
 Hanotaux, Gabriel, 20, 46
 Hanseatic League, 44
 Harmand, Dr., 199
 Haron, 172
 Haroun-al-Raschid, 98
 Haughton, Major, 149
 Havre de Grâce, 17, 69
 Hawaii, 6, 212
 Haye, de la, 53, 54, 78, 81, 82, 85, 245
 Hebrides, 209
 Heliopolis, 102
 Henry I, 14
 Henry IV, 19, 33, 35, 46, 57, 58, 69, 76, 84, 98, 101, 137
 Henry VII, 34
 Henry VIII, 55

- Hitler, Adolf, 6, 256
 Hoek, Franske, 236
 Hoffmann, 45
 Hogendorp, Count, 151
 Höher, Franz, 14
 Holland, 3, 20, 35, 36, 43, 49, 51, 53,
 85, 87, 101, 147, 189, 235, 257, 261
 Holy Land, see Palestine
 Honfleur, 18, 57, 69, 75
 Hong Kong, 5, 31, 193, 208
 Hoom, 236
 Hospitalers, 17, 97
 Hovas, 179, 181, 182, 184
 Hudson Bay, 62
 Hué, 7, 187, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198,
 201
 Huguenots, 57, 58, 65, 235, 236, 238
 Hugues, Victor, 74, 154
 Hundred Years' War, 32
 Hung-Hoa, 200, 202
 Hung Yen, 189, 192
 Hussein Bey, 133
 Hussein Khan, 248
 Hyderabad, 90

 Ile Bonaparte, 83
 Ile Bourbon, 79, 80, 83
 Ile Dauphine, 79, 179
 Ile de France, 37, 79, 83, 89, 93, 179,
 209
 Ile de Gorée, 146
 Ile Maurice, 81-83
 Ile Pentecôte, 215
 Ile Royale, 63, 64, 70
 Ile Saint Jean, 69
 Ile Sainte Marie, 80
 Ile de Toumbo, 165
 Illinois, 67
 Indénisé, 166
 India, 4, 5, 20, 27, 31, 32, 36, 37, 44,
 52, 53, 59, 80, 83-85, 87-93, 95, 101,
 102, 113, 155, 186, 192, 193, 267,
 297
 Indo-China, 6, 7, 11, 13, 25, 37, 38, 39,
 40, 112, 113, 185, 191, 200, 202,
 204-207, 253, 254, 256, 260, 261,
 267, 289
 Indore, 95
 Insulinde, 235

 Institut d'Egypte, 102, 103
 Iraq, 223
 Ireland, 14, 63
 Iroquois, 61, 63
 Islam, 16, 96, 115, 117, 132, 142, 145,
 153, 259
 Ismail, Khedive, 103, 105
 Ismailia, 103
 Inini, 291
 Isly, 123, 131, 138
 Ispahan, 244-246
 Italy, 5, 16, 17, 20, 111, 134, 253, 254,
 256
 Ivory Coast, 18, 149, 151, 161, 164,
 167, 168, 171, 227, 276

 Jaffa, 102
 Jamaica, 36, 74
 Jamot, Dr., 231
 Japan, 202, 254-256
 Jerusalem, 15, 17, 18, 96, 97
 Joal, 147
 Joffre, Marshal, 24, 162
 Joliet, 62
 Jones, Sir Harford, 248
 Josaphat, 15
 Joseph, Father, 19, 44, 47, 243
 Joubert, General, 247
 Jumel, 103
 Jusserand, 14
 Jussieu, 73

 Kaarta, 160
 Kabylia, 132
 Kadnias, 117
 Kairwan, 118, 134
 Kamchatka, 38, 211
 Kaloum, 165
 Kanakas, 213
 Kankan, 161
 Katikal, 297
 Karikal, 88
 Karnatak, 88, 89, 92
 Kayes, 157
 Kemal-Mohammet-Mostel-Ben-el-
 Kodja, 117
 Kerguelen, 38, 184, 209, 288
 Kerlerec, 66
 Keynes, 253

- Kharek, 247
 Khartoum, 106
 Khasso, 157
 Khmer, 186
 Khodja, 117
 Kitchener, Lord, 22, 105, 174, 175
 Kléber, General, 102
 Kong, 160, 161
 Koran, 23, 115, 116, 117, 126, 259
 Kouilou, 173
 Kouroussa, 153
 Krumirs, 134

 Labatut, General, 21
 Laborde, 181
 La Boulaye, 52
 Labrador, 57
 Lafayette, 21, 68
 Lagarde, 177, 178
 Lagrée, Doudart de, 197
 Lagrené, 193
 Lahou, 149
 Laing, Major, 153
 Lambert, Henri, 177
 Lambert de la Motte, Father, 192
 Lamine, Mahamadou, 159
 Lamont, Thomas, 5
 Lamoricière, 124, 130, 131
 Lamy, 174
 Lang-Son, 111, 200
 Lanessan, 202, 204
 Lao-Kay, 197
 Laos, 38, 142, 185, 189, 195, 201, 202,
 205, 255, 289
 La Pérouse, 38, 209, 211, 215
 La Plata, 76
 La Ravardière, 46
 Laroche, Catineau, 78, 182
 La Rochelle, 19, 43, 45, 59, 69, 80, 166
 Latakia, 225, 275
 Lattes, 16
 Lascours, General, 128
 Laudonnière, 76
 Lauriston, 92
 Lauzun, Duc de, 148
 League of Nations, 10, 25, 99, 219, 226,
 227, 231, 253, 264
 Lebanon, 7-10, 17, 99, 100, 220, 221,
 223-225, 259, 262, 267, 275

 Lebon, 163
 Leclerc, General, 74
 Leghorn, 121, 122
 Le Havre, 18
 Leibnitz, 101
 Leith, du, 62
 Le Moyne de Bienville, 66, 67
 Le Moyne d'Iberville, 38, 65
 Lenoir, 87, 88
 Les Petites Cadies, 69
 Leeward Islands, 212, 298
 Le Myre de Villers, 182, 196
 Leopold II, 112, 172-174
 Lepère, 104
 Lépunay, Gaudin de, 240
 Lerida, 127, 131
 Lescarbot, 20, 57, 59, 69
 Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 104, 240, 241
 Lesseps, Mathieu de, 133
 Lesueur, 65
 Levant, 55, 57, 98, 99, 110, 191
 Leyden, 237
 Liberia, 166, 167
 Libreville, 175
 Libya, 174
 Limon Bay, 239
 Linières, 21
 Lisbon, 33
 Lisle, Leconte de, 83
 Livingstone, 68, 171
 Lombardy, 17
 Louango, 173
 Louis IX, 97
 Louis XI, 17, 57, 120
 Louis XIII, 43, 84, 177
 Louis XIV, 20, 34, 36, 47, 60, 64, 68,
 72, 82, 98, 101, 133, 147, 177, 192,
 245
 Louis XV, 91
 Louis XVI, 78, 92
 Louis XVIII, 110, 123, 179
 Louis-Philippe, 103, 116, 128, 131, 150,
 153, 177, 181, 211, 212
 Louisbourg, 63, 64
 Louisiana, 11, 13, 20, 36-38, 62-69,
 113, 124, 226
 Louvillier de Poincy, 71
 Louvois, 85, 86
 Loyalty Islands, 212

- Loyola, 17
 Loyson, Hyacinthe, 117
 Luang-Trabang, 203
 Lung-Prabang, 202
 Lusignan, Guy de, 97
 Luxeuil, 14
 Luyne, 9
 Lyautey, 39, 40, 117, 131, 140-145, 258, 261

 Macao, 188
 Macedonia, 97
 Madagascar, 11, 22, 39, 44-46, 50, 79, 80-82, 84, 110, 112, 113, 142, 179, 181, 182, 209, 212, 237, 261, 267, 286
 Madec, 95
 Madras, 89, 92, 94
 Madrid, 138
 Magellan, 55
 Magerfonstein, 238
 Mahé, 297
 Mahomet, 116, 263
 Mahrattas, 90, 93, 95
 Maipu, 21
 Maison, 129
 Maistre, 173
 Majunga, 182
 Makoko (King), 172, 173
 Makta, 129
 Malabar, 50, 53
 Malacca, 192
 Malamine, Sergeant, 173
 Mal-el-Ainine, 163
 Malouet, 78
 Malta, 5, 15, 102
 Mameluks, 101, 102
 Manding, 161, 165
 Manila, 92, 188
 Marabout, 123, 142, 158
 Maranhão, 32, 76
 Marchand, 22, 105, 174, 175
 Marengo, 21
 Marie de Medici, 70
 Marie Galante, 71
 Mariette, 7, 103, 106
 Maroni, 288
 Maronites, 98
 Marrakesh, 140

 Marsa (Convention of), 135
 Marseilles, 12, 16, 17, 57, 120, 243
 Martel, Marquis de, 133
 Martin, François, 54, 86, 87
 Martinique, 11, 71-74, 256, 267, 291
 Matitalana, 80
 Marquette, Father, 20, 62, 64
 Marquesas, 212, 213, 298
 Mascarenes, 45, 79, 103
 Mascate, 245
 Maspero, 7
 Massina, 160, 161
 Matadi, 280
 Maurepas, 247
 Mauritania, 163, 169, 276
 Masulipatam, 85, 86, 89, 92
 Maximilian, 111
 Ma-Yuan, 186
 Mayotte, 181, 288
 Mazarin, Cardinal, 32, 47, 79
 Medina, 158-160
 Méduse, 152
 Megouez, Troilus de, 70
 Mehdi, 120
 Mehemed Riza Bey, 246
 Mehemet Ali, 101, 103, 122
 Meilleraye, Duc de la, 80
 Mekong, 187, 189, 191, 197, 202, 203
 Melilla, 120
 Melisande, 14
 Mellacorée, 158, 164
 Menelik, 177, 178
 Menou, 102
 Mesopotamia, 221
 Methuen (Treaty of), 36
 Meule, Jean de, 62
 Mexico, 32, 55, 65, 111
 Michel, 245
 Michaux, 247
 Miletus, 15
 Minorca, 121
 Miquelon, 64, 69, 70, 176, 267, 294
 Miranda, 21
 Mississippi, 19, 38, 55, 62, 64, 65, 67
 Missouri, 67
 Mocha, 88
 Mohammed Aga Khan, 247
 Mohammed-Mirza, 247

- Moheli, 288
 Molé, 45
 Moll, 174
 Monroe, 68
 Montcalm, Marquis de, 64
 Montchrétien, 57
 Mondragon, Pierre de, 83
 Monteil, Colonel, 161
 Montesquieu, 21, 76
 Montevergue, Marquis de, 81
 Montferrand, Boniface de, 15
 Montluc, 75
 Montpellier, 16, 17
 Montreal, 58, 60, 63, 69
 Moorla, 298
 Mopli, 161
 Morgan, Jacques de, 249
 Morny, 155
 Mouni, 230
 Morocco, 22, 39, 40, 106, 113, 114,
 116, 117, 120, 123, 137-145, 153,
 163, 175, 205, 258, 261, 267, 272
 Mosul, 100
 Motte, Maréchale de la, 47
 Mozambique, 84
 Mulai Hafid, 139, 140
 Mulai Ismael, 138
 Mulai Yusuf, 140
 Murat, 15
 Muscovy, 44, 45
 Mysore, 37, 90, 93, 94
 My-Tho, 195

 Nachtigal, 227, 230
 Nagasaki, 235
 Nanking (Treaty of), 193
 Naples, 15
 Napoleon I, 7, 15, 16, 24, 36, 68, 83,
 93, 99, 101, 102, 104, 109, 127, 133,
 247, 248
 Napoleon III, 26, 99, 104, 110, 113,
 125, 194, 213
 Narbonne, 17
 Natchez, 66, 67
 Navarino, 103
 Naxos, 15
 Négrier, General de, 200
 Nelson, 102
 New Brunswick, 69
 New Caledonia, 211, 213, 215, 267,
 299
 New Cythera, 211
 New England, 35
 Newfoundland, 18, 34, 35, 44, 49, 55,
 57, 69, 70
 New Guinea, 36
 New Hebrides, 215, 267, 299
 New Holland, 37
 New Orleans, 67, 69
 New York, 61
 New Zealand, 5, 31, 38, 209, 212
 Nguyen-Anh, 187, 193
 Niagara, 62
 Niari, 173
 Nicaragua, 240
 Nicea, Duke of, 97
 Nicosia, 15
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 28
 Niger, 40, 111, 112, 148, 149, 152, 158-
 163, 165, 173, 261, 276, 278, 280
 Nigeria, 163, 167
 Nile, 22, 102, 103, 172, 174, 175, 261
 Nimwegen (Treaty of), 49, 85, 147
 Nioro, 160
 Noiro, 165
 Normandy, 57, 146
 Norway, 14, 257
 Nossibé, 181, 182
 Noss-Comba, 181
 Nossi-Mitsiou, 181
 Nouméa, 299
 Nova Scotia, 68
 N'Tamou, 173
 Niamey, 280

 Obisto, 240, 241
 Obok, 177
 Oceania, 6, 37, 211, 215, 298
 Ogeron, Bertrand d', 71
 Ogoué, 171, 172
 Ohio, 63, 64
 Olive, Liénard de l', 71
 Olivier, Antoine, 247
 Oran, 122, 123, 268, 269
 Orinoco, 49
 Orissa, 92
 Ossa, Cardinal d', 43
 Ottawa, 59

- Otter, Jean, 247
 Ouadai, 174
 Ouagadougou, 162
 Oualo, 152, 157
 Ouassoulou, 161
 Ouezzan, 141
 Ougly, 87, 91
 Ouidah, 149, 164, 167, 168
 Owari, 149

 Pacifique, Father, 244
 Palbot, 95
 Palermo, 15
 Palestine, 7, 9, 37, 96, 97, 100, 223
 Pallu, François, 192
 Palmerston, Lord, 24
 Palmyra, 221
 Panama, 6, 13, 239, 240, 242
 Pancaldi, 100
 Papeete, 298
 Paris (Treaty of), 73, 83, 99, 148
 Parkman, 61, 65
 Patin, Guy, 49
 Passy, 122
 Pasteur, 8, 125, 262, 263
 Pauger, 67
 Pavie, Auguste, 38, 202, 203
 Payns, Hugh de, 17
 Pearl Harbor, 31
 Pegou, 188
 Peloponnesus, 15
 Perez, Fernand, 188
 Perron, 95
 Persepolis, 249
 Persia, 16, 44, 45, 80, 84, 192, 243-249
 Peru, 35, 45, 55
 Peter the Hermit, 15, 96
 Petit, Mademoiselle, 245
 Petit Nord, 70
 Petit Paradis, 70
 Petit Popo, 165, 168
 Peulhs, 160, 164
 Phaulkon, 192
 Philadelphia, 82
 Philippe the Fair, 18
 Philippe II, 32, 44
 Philippe III, 188
 Philippines, 6, 83
 Pic de l'Etoile, 215

 Pinçon, Vincent, 18
 Piquet, Victor, 69
 Pizarro, 55, 76
 Plaisance, 70
 Plessis d'Ossoville, Jean, 71
 Pnom-Penh, 189
 Pomcaré, Raymond, 139, 140
 Pomte Noire, 175
 Point des Gallets, 296
 Poivre, Pierre, 78, 82, 193
 Poland, 24
 Polignac, 181
 Polo, Marco, 18
 Pomaré, Queen, 211, 212
 Pondichéry, 54, 86-89, 92-94, 193, 297
 Pons, Gabriel de, 244
 Pontchartrain, 66
 Pontgravé, 35, 58, 59
 Pontrécourt, 45, 59
 Port Arthur, 202
 Port Bourbon, 82
 Port Dauphin, 66
 Port Lonis, 82
 Portal, Baron, 78, 110, 151, 181
 Porto Novo, 167, 168
 Porto Rico, 71
 Porto Seguro, 165, 167, 168, 227
 Portudac, 147
 Portugal, 3, 6, 16, 32-34, 36, 43, 44,
 57, 84, 137
 Priestley, 118, 175, 176
 Pritchard, 211
 Pionis, Jacques, 79
 Protet, 154
 Provence, 16, 17, 83
 Pulo Condore, 189, 192, 195

 Quang-An, 195
 Quebec, 35, 46, 58, 59, 61-64, 69

 Rabah, 174
 Rakka, 221
 Rakoto, 181
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 35, 76
 Ramadan, 115
 Ramses-Meiamon, 13
 Ranavalo, 181-183
 Randon, 123
 Rapa, 212

- Ravallac, 84
 Raymond, 95
 Razilly, Isaac de, 19, 43-47, 62, 76, 137
 Red River, 189, 191, 192, 197, 203
 Reine de l'Etoile, 246
 Réunion, 11, 83, 114, 179, 296
 Rhineland, 14, 24
 Rhodes, 16
 Ribault, Jean, 75, 76
 Ricaut, Captain, 46
 Richelieu, Cardinal de, 18-20, 32, 34,
 36, 39, 43, 44-47, 59, 62, 77, 79, 110,
 137, 146, 243
 Richepanse, 74
 Riebeeck, Johann van, 235
 Rio dos Comoroës, 230
 Rio Grande, 240
 Rio de Janeiro, 32
 Rio Nunez, 153, 164
 Rio de Oro, 163
 Rio San Francisco do Sul, 75
 Rivardière, Daniel de, 76
 Ruvet, General, 130
 Rivière, Commandant, 199
 Roberval, Sieur de, 37, 57, 58
 Robespierre, 3
 Rochambeau, 21, 68, 74
 Roche, Sieur de la, 35
 Rocky Mountains, 63, 67
 Rome, 13, 47, 120
 Romieu, Alexandre, 247
 Roosevelt, President, 6, 254, App.
 Rosetta Stone, 103
 Rotterdam, 235, 236
 Rouen, 65
 Roume, 40
 Rousseau, Jacques, 246
 Rousseau, J. F., 247
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 21, 76, 246
 Rouvier, 138
 Roux, Sylvain, 181
 Rufisque, 147, 159
 Russia, 21, 26, 81, 105, 138, 202, 208,
 247, 248, 253
 Ruyter, 33, 49, 72
 Ryswick (Treaty of), 62, 70, 87
 Saigon, 6, 194, 197, 206, 291
 Saint Augustine, 17
 Saint Christopher, 36, 71, 72
 Saint Denis, 46, 296
 Saint Germain (Treaty of), 59
 St. Jean d'Acre, 17, 102
 Saint Lawrence, 19, 35, 57, 58, 60
 Saint Louis (King), 15, 16, 97, 120
 Saint Louis (city), 64, 148, 159, 278
 Saint Malo, 58, 69, 70, 72, 75, 82, 96,
 146
 Sainte Marie, 181, 182
 Saint Paul, 288
 Saint Pierre, 64, 69, 70, 176, 267, 294
 Saint Susson, 62
 Saint Vincent, 71
 Sakalaves, 183
 Salle, Cavelier de la, 20, 38, 62, 64, 65,
 153
 Salle, Gadifer de la, 146
 Salouka, 15, 25
 Samoa, 38, 209
 Samori, 160-162
 Sanderval, Olivier, 165, 166
 San Diego, 182
 San Martin, 21
 Santa Cruz, 211
 Santa Lucia, 74
 Santhonnax, 73, 74
 Santo Domingo, 71-74, 151
 San Thomé, 85, 86
 Sangha, 173
 Saracens, 15
 Saragossa, 127, 131
 Saratoga, 68
 Sarraut, Albert, 40, 205, 206
 Sartine, 82
 Sassanides, 249
 Savoie, Jacques de, 237
 Say, 162
 Scandinavia, 44
 Scindia, 95
 Schmalz, 152
 Schoelcher, 155
 Seeley, Robert, 19
 Segonzac, 38
 Segou, 160
 Séguier, 50

- Seignelay, Marquis de, 64
 Senegal, 11, 38, 77, 78, 110, 114, 146-148, 152-155, 157-159, 163, 164, 168, 169, 179, 226, 256, 276, 278
 Senussi, 174
 Serapis, 103
 Serbia, 24
 Sercey, Count de, 248
 Seven Years' War, 21, 36, 73, 91, 148
 Seychelles, 36, 83
 Seychelles, Rodrigues, 83
 Sfax, 134
 Shanghai, 5, 194, 208
 Shan, 173, 174
 Shelley, 145
 Shoa, 177
 Siam, 7, 22, 86, 187, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195, 201-203, 254, 255
 Sicily, 13, 32, 55, 65
 Sierra Leone, 79, 146, 165
 Sikasso, 160, 161
 Simon, 237
 Singapore, 6, 31, 255
 Smyrna, 100, 243, 244
 Sladaconé, 57
 Society Islands, 212
 Sokoto, 161, 162
 Soliman, 18, 98, 116
 Somali, 178, 267, 295
 Sontay, 199
 Soult, Marshal, 124, 132
 South Africa, 5, 31, 238
 Spain, 5, 6, 20, 32-34, 36, 43, 44, 51, 57, 67, 68, 84, 138-140, 163, 177, 194, 212, 239, 243
 Stallenbach, 237
 Stanley, Colonel Oliver, 4
 Stanley, Sir Henry, 171, 173
 Steeg, 144
 Stel, Governor van der, 237, 238
 Stephenson, 104
 Stern, Jacques, 105
 Strozzi, Philippe, 75
 Suchet, 128
 Sudan, 105, 111-113, 160-163, 168, 169, 173, 174, 183, 276
 Suez, 5, 13, 101, 103, 104, 106, 177, 241
 Suffren, 38, 93
 Sully, 77
 Sumatra, 18, 33
 Surat, 44, 50, 53, 84-87, 91, 192
 Suville, 38, 209
 Susa, 249
 Switzerland, 14, 261
 Sylvester II, 96
 Syria, 7, 10, 17, 24, 96, 99, 100, 111, 114, 220, 221, 223-225, 259, 262, 267, 275
 Tadjma, 178
 Tadia, 140-141
 Taflet, 141
 Tafna (Treaty of), 129
 Taguiri, 131
 Tahiti, 211
 Tahoua, 280
 Talleyrand, 24, 101, 102, 247
 Talon, Jean, 60, 61
 Tamatave, 83, 181, 287
 Tananarive, 181, 182
 Tanganyika, 172
 Tangiers, 138
 Tangore, 89
 Tarente, 127
 Tarragona, 127
 Tartars, 17
 Tas, Adam, 237
 Tasmania, 37
 Taza, 140
 Teheran, 247, 248
 Templars, 17, 97
 Tewfik, 105
 Tham, De, 202
 Thamar, 246
 Then-Ha, 186
 Théodebert, 14
 Thomson, Gaston, 11
 Tientsin, 200
 Timbuctoo, 153, 158, 162
 Tijama, 117
 Timsah, Lake, 104
 Tlemcen, 129
 Tobago, 71
 Togoland, 165, 167, 168, 220, 226-229, 231, 262, 267, 276, 282
 Toit, du, 238
 Tollendal, Lally, 38, 91, 92

- Tongking, 7, 22, 38, 90, 92, 111-113,
 142, 183, 185, 186, 191, 192, 194,
 195, 197, 199-202, 204, 205, 208,
 255, 289
 Torcy, Marquis de, 246
 Tonens Act, 124, 229
 Torrès Islands, 215
 Tortola, 71
 Touat, 124
 Toucouleurs, 157, 160
 Tourane, 194, 195, 291
 Toussaint Louverture, 74
 Trazza Moors, 148, 152
 Treich, 263
 Treich-Laplène, 166
 Trentinian, de, 160, 162
 Trichinopoly, 90
 Trinh, 187
 Trinidad, 6
 Trinquemale, 85
 Tripoli, 17, 97, 121, 153
 Tuamotu, 212
 Tuaregs, 162, 268
 Tuduc, 199
 Tudèle, Benjamin de, 17
 Tunis, 8, 22, 118, 120-122, 133, 135
 Tunisia, 15, 16, 21, 97, 111, 112, 113,
 114, 120, 133-135, 137, 142-144,
 258, 260, 261, 267, 271
 Turkey, 7, 99, 102, 177, 221, 224
 Tuyen-Quan, 200
 Ubanghi Shari, 175, 284
 United States, 3, 6, 11, 24, 31, 74, 212,
 239-241, 255, 256, 257
 United Nations, 3-5, 8, 253-256
 Upsala, 14
 Urban II, 96
 Urfa, 100
 Urville, Dumont d', 38, 211, 215
 Utrecht (Treaty of), 62, 63, 72, 77
 Valois, 15
 Vandreuil, 66
 Varilla, Philippe Bunau, 241, 242
 Venice, 16
 Veranderie, Varennes de la, 63
 Verazzano, 57
 Verne, Jules, 3
 Versailles (Treaty of), 5, 9, 139, 141,
 175, 205, 253, 254
 Verville, Simon de, 247
 Vienna, 24, 110, 121, 155
 Vieng-Chan, 189
 Villehardouin, Geoffroy, 15
 Villèle, 110
 Villenour, 89
 Villeroy, 43
 Villiers, Baron de, 238
 Vinh-Long, 194
 Virginia, 35, 226
 Viviani, René, 24
 Vogué, 9
 Volney, 101
 Volta, 161, 163
 Voltaire, 21, 52, 67, 92
 Voulet, 174
 Vuillaumez, Bouet, 153, 164, 167
 Waddington, 9
 Wallis, 211, 299, 300
 Warsaw, 247, 254
 Washington, George, 68, 93
 Waterloo, 20, 21, 93, 127
 Wei-Hei-Wei, 202
 West Indies, 18, 32, 76
 William of Orange, 36, 62, 237
 William the Bastard, 14
 Wilhelm II, 100, 138
 Willkie, Wendell, 3-10, 15, 22, 25-28,
 253
 Wilson, President, 5, 26, 254
 Windward Islands, 72, 74, 77
 Wusthof, Gérard de, 189
 Xerxes, 249
 Yanaon, 297
 Yaroslav, 14
 Yildiz, 100
 Yorktown, 73
 Yugoslavia, 257
 Yunnan, 197, 201, 202, 239
 Zaian, 141
 Zara, 97
 Zéphir, 94
 Zinder, 162, 174, 280
 Zulu, 212